Music, Liturgy, and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context

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Music, Liturgy, and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context

Edited by

Ann Buckley

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IN MEMORIAM

Michel Huglo

1921–2012

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Ann Buckley
Feast of St Columbanus

Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta sanctorum*, 68 vols (Antwerpen and Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1940)
AB	*The Antiphonary of Bangor*, ed. by Frederick E. Warren, 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society, 4 and 10 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1892–95), vol. I [facsimile], vol. II [edition and notes]
ABoll.	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AH	*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. by Clemens Blume and Guido M. Dreves, 55 vols (Leipzig: Reisland, 1886–1922)
AntS	*Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a MS of the 13th Century with Dissertation and Analytical Index*, ed. by Walter Howard Frere (London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901–24; repr. in 6 vols, Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966)
BHL	*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, ed. by Société des Bollandistes, Subsidia Hagiographica, 6 (Brussels, 1898–99; repr. 1992)
BrevS	*Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. by Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879–86)
CAO	*Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, ed. by René-Jean Hesbert, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior, 6 vols (Roma: Herder, 1963–79)
CLA	*Codices Latini antiquiores: A Guide to Latin Manuscripts before AD 800*, ed. by E. A. Lowe, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–72)
CLLA	*Codices Liturgici Latini antiquiores*, ed. by Klaus Gamber, 2 vols, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia, 1–1A, 2nd edn (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1968)

Colker, *Catalogue*	Colker, Marvin L., *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991)
CSM	Corpus scriptorum de musica
Frere, *Use of Sarum*	Frere, Walter Howard, *The Use of Sarum*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898–1901; repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1969), I: Consuetudinary and Customary; II: Ordinal and Tonary
Grove online	<http://www.grovemusic.com>
ILH	*The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. from the manuscripts, with trans., notes, and a glossary by J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, I: *Text and Introduction*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 13 (London, 1898), II: *Translations, Notes and Glossary*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 14 (London, 1898)
JRSAI	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MMMO	Hughes, Andrew, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982; supplemented paperback edn, 1995)
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series latina*, ed. by Jean-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1844–65)
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*
Vitae SS	*Vitae sanctorum hiberniae partim hactenus: ineditae ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum recognovit prolegomenis notis indicibus instruxit*, ed. and trans. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910; repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press 1997)

Introduction

Ann Buckley

At the conclusion to their exemplary study of the poetry of the monastery of Iona, Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Márkus state:

> Here we find a monastery not out on a limb, doing its own 'Celtic' thing, but steeped in the culture of Latin Christianity, participating fully in the literary expression of the faith of the church, the 'People of the Book'.[1]

They could not have put more succinctly one of the primary motivations for this present publication, which is to challenge the isolated position of scholarship on the music and liturgy of the medieval Irish Church and to restore it to its rightful place on the European historical map. Our aim is to broaden the base for discussion of this aspect of medieval Irish cultural history in its regional and insular contexts, and relatedly, of the impact and legacy of the medieval Irish diaspora in continental Europe, through an examination of the cults of Irish saints. In so doing, we address two of the major stumbling blocks in the integration — or 'normalization' — of Irish musico-liturgical studies, namely, the notion of an idiosyncratic 'Celtic Rite', and the prevailing view that all traces of the older culture disappeared with Norman hegemony. These assumptions are due largely to an insistence, by earlier generations of scholars, on the Gaelic (or 'Celtic') aspects of Irish society to the neglect of any consideration of cultural engagement with Britain (England, in particular) and continental Europe; and on a quest for what might be unique or 'other' about Ireland and Irish culture, rather than taking account of all of the evidence, not

[1] Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Márkus, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of Celtic Monastery* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995; repr. 2003), p. 222.

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least its insular and European historical contexts. In adopting a more inclusive approach, a different picture emerges which demonstrates the diversity and international connectedness of Irish ecclesiastical culture throughout the long Middle Ages, while also registering regional and local nuances.

Because Ireland was never part of the Roman Empire, it remained a predominantly Gaelic-speaking society until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the takeover by a French- and subsequently English-speaking administrative elite following the Norman Conquest in the mid-twelfth century and the handing over of the city of Dublin to the 'men of Bristol' by Henry II. This linguistic distinctiveness of the 'native Irish' has in the past often given rise to an assumption of an almost hermetically sealed Gaelic cultural entity, a highly conservative (if not culturally 'backward') society out of touch with the contemporary world — an attitude which was given credence by the widespread negative criticism of Irish ecclesiastical practices and the highlighting of perceived 'irregularities' by twelfth-century reformers (both Irish and non-Irish), by political opportunists, and by cultural outsiders, who emphasized this otherness; and it probably owes something also to the long-term legacy of earlier controversies involving the Columbanian Church and its history of resistance to centralizing, Romanizing reforms.

In the past, more balanced historical accounts were further hindered by excessive romanticism and nationalistic interests, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These relied on an ideology-driven notion of a distinctively 'Celtic' Church with its own unique liturgy, supporting the view that Irish Church practices had more in common with those of other Celtic-speaking nations (Wales, Scotland, and perhaps Brittany) than with those of England and continental Europe. A notable impulse came from Protestant England represented by a number of Anglican scholar-clerics keen to assert links with a hypothetical ancient British Church which could be perceived somehow as 'pre-Roman Catholic'. Thus there has tended to be a dichotomy between ideas of regional variation within, and relative local autonomy of, a locally organized church, on the one hand, and its relationship with Rome and international Christianity on the other. Difference was emphasized over common ground.

Where the 'Celtic Rite' theory has hampered a more objective and inclusive assessment of pre-Norman Irish sources, it has similarly resulted in the neglect of later, largely Sarum, materials which represent almost all that survive of liturgical music from medieval Ireland. In spite of William Hawkes's appeal,[2] now

[2] William Hawkes, 'The Liturgy in Dublin, 1200–1500: Manuscript Sources', *Reportorium Novum*, 2 (1957–58), 33–67 (p. 67).

some sixty years ago, that these important manuscripts be studied by musicologists, they have been largely overlooked until recently.[3] But now these sources too are coming into their own, recognized as part of the cultural mix of Irish history.[4] As well as representing testimony to other liturgical practices of their time, which the Church in Ireland shared with the rest of western Christendom, they also contain unique material relating to the veneration of Irish saints, not only from references in their kalendars and litanies, but also including proper texts for Mass and Office, among which may be found a number of full offices.[5]

Perhaps for similar reasons, the culting of Irish saints in continental Europe has also been neglected by historians of music and liturgy (though not by hagiographers and other historians, for example Jean-Michel Picard, a contributor to this volume). Yet this represents a significant body of evidence for the long-term cultural impact of the early Irish Church. In that respect, also, this collection of essays is timely, as work on regional and local saints gathers pace in medieval studies more generally.

Music has perhaps been the most neglected topic here. The lack of sources with notation presents an obvious problem; but also there has been a prevailing attitude that 'Ireland' and 'Europe' are separate jurisdictions — not only of geography but somehow of the mind — because of a fixation on the notion of an insular 'Celtic' society as a defining feature. Gradually, however, a more open attitude is replacing older ideologies, particularly with respect to later repertories and historical 'fusions'. Nowadays it is no longer controversial (at

[3] Earlier scholars were, for the most part, interested primarily in finding traces of pre-Norman Irish chant. See, for example, Bruno Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien der altirischen Liturgie', in *Musicae Scientiae Collectanea: Festschrift für Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Heinrich Hüschen (Köln: Arno Volk, 1973), pp. 590–97 (p. 591, n. 12); Frank Harrison, 'Polyphony in Medieval Ireland', in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by E. M. Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), pp. 74–79 (p. 75). Nonetheless, an exception is Aloys Fleischmann, who showed an interest in these materials in the 1930s. See Aloys Fleischmann, 'The Neumes in Irish Liturgical Manuscripts' (unpublished master's thesis, University College Cork, 1932), and Fleischmann, 'Die Iren in der Neumen und Choralforschung', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 16 (1934), 352–55.

[4] See, for example, Patrick V. Brannon, 'A Contextual Study of the Four Notated Sarum Divine Office Manuscripts from Anglo-Norman Ireland' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington University, St Louis, 1990); and Brannon, 'The Search for the Celtic Rite: The TCD Sarum Divine Office MSS Reassessed', in *Music and the Church*, ed. by Gerard Gillen and Harry White, Irish Musical Studies, 2 (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), pp. 13–40.

[5] See the chapters by Buckley, Furlong, and Brannon in this volume.

least in most circles) to speak of the Italian-ness of Carolan, the 'European-ness' of many 'Irish' dance forms, the 'English' and 'Scottish' elements of the Irish ballad tradition. And like the earlier period with which this book is concerned, it is clear that none of these considerations has resulted in a threat to or a lessening of the integrity — indeed in some cases, uniqueness — of Irish cultural expression. Rather, it has helped to clarify and reveal both Ireland's place in European culture and the pluralism of its distinctive regional voices.[6]

* * *

The scope and depth of early Irish intellectual activity are evident from copious manuscripts and fragments which have survived (outside of Ireland for the most part), as well as from iconography on stone and metalwork. That most of the indigenous sources were either destroyed or taken to the Continent by travelling (sometimes fleeing) Irishmen can sometimes give the impression of a divide between continental Irish and those who worked at home. However, there is abundant evidence against that, as Charles Doherty has underlined.[7] And while most Irish people would be embarrassed by the boastful claim that the Irish 'saved civilization',[8] it is an undisputed fact that were it not for the education and learning of the communities who inhabited Irish monasteries of the sixth and seventh centuries at a time when the rest of Europe was undergoing a period of great instability, the link with Classical Antiquity and with early Christian writing would most likely have been lost.[9] Irish studies in science, particularly mathematics, computistics, and astronomy, were in a league of their own in the seventh and eighth centuries, as a recent collection of essays has shown.[10] And though we lack specifically insular Irish writings on music theory, collections of early Irish literature and poetry and insular and Continental

[6] This extent of change may be seen in the scope and comprehensiveness of the recently published Harry White and Barra Boydell, eds, *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 2 vols (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013).

[7] Charles Doherty, 'Introduction', in *Music and the Stars: Mathematics in Medieval Ireland*, ed. by Mary Kelly and Charles Doherty (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 1–12 (p. 12).

[8] Thomas Cahill, *How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe* (New York: Doubleday, 1995).

[9] Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Saints, Scholars and Science in Early Medieval Ireland', in *Music and the Stars*, ed. by Kelly and Doherty, pp. 13–20; Immo Warntjes, 'Seventh-Century Ireland: The Cradle of Medieval Science?', in *Music and the Stars*, ed. by Kelly and Doherty, pp. 44–72, esp. pp. 47–50.

[10] See Kelly and Doherty, *Music and the Stars*, passim.

glosses contain references which attest to a thorough knowledge of the works of Boethius, Martianus Capella, Isidore of Seville, and the Greek theorists. A near-contemporary copy of Gerbert of Aurillac's *De abaco*[11] was written at the monastery of Glendalough (the most likely provenance of the early twelfth-century Drummond Missal), a monastic school which may also have been responsible for a copy in an Irish hand of a lambda diagram of musical tones and intervals expressed in Boethian/Chalcidian mathematical terms, dating to around the beginning of the twelfth century.[12] The pedagogical text *Nonae Aprilis*, perhaps one of the most widely known computistical lessons in the medieval student's repertoire, is attributed to Mo-Sinu maccu Mín (also known as Sillán or Silnán), Abbot of Bangor (d. 610), who taught it to his pupil, Mo-Chuaróc Maccu Net Sémon (also known as 'Mo-Cuaróc of the None') who, in turn, is credited with having committed it to writing.[13] Irish prowess in poetic and musical composition is further demonstrated in the unusual example of a colophon, 'Cormacus scripsit', set for three voices in a twelfth-century psalter.[14]

That the libraries of early Irish monasteries would have contained patristic writings, the Bible and apocrypha, liturgical service-books, and Greek writings is evident.[15] Centres such as Armagh, Bangor, Movilla, Clonard,

[11] Now London, British Library, Egerton MS 3323, fol. 18 (early twelfth century), from a codex which formed part of a schoolbook at Glendalough. See Doherty, 'Introduction', p. 12, and Mary Kelly, 'Twelfth-Century Ways of Learning: From Worcester or Cologne to Glendalough', *JRSAI*, 141 (2011), 47–55. Gerbert d'Aurillac (*c*. 946 – 12 May 1003) became Pope Silvester II.

[12] Pádraig Ó Néill, 'Boethius in Early Ireland: Five Centuries of Study in the Sciences', in *Music and the Stars*, ed. by Kelly and Doherty, pp. 21–43, pl. I. For further scholarship on this source, see Michel Huglo, 'L'étude des diagrammes d'harmonique de Calcidius au Moyen Âge', *Revue de Musicologie*, 91.2 (2005), 305–19, and Christian Meyer, 'Le diagramme lambdoïde du MS Oxford Bodleian Library Auct. F.3.15 (3511)', *Scriptorium*, 49 (1995), 228–37.

[13] Dáibhí Ó Croinín, 'Mo-Sinnu Maccu Mín and the Computus of Bangor', *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 281–95; David Howlett, 'Music and the Stars in Early Irish Compositions', in *Music and the Stars*, ed. by Kelly and Doherty, pp. 111–28 (pp. 113–19). Howlett, 'Music and the Stars', p. 16, n. 20, refers also to the existence of a neumed version of this text but does not elaborate, information which arrived too late for me to follow up before the present publication went to press.

[14] London, British Library, Additional MS 36929, fol. 59^{r}. See Howlett, 'Music and the Stars', pp. 124–27; Ann Buckley, 'Music in Ireland to *c*. 1500', in *A New History of Ireland*, I: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 744–813 (p. 800 and pl. 121); Ann Buckley, 'Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society', *Early Music*, 28.2 (May 2000), 165–90 (pp. 178–79).

[15] This summary is based on the work of Clancy and Márkus, *Iona*, pp. 211–22, although

Clonmacnois, and Glendalough might well have become universities in the twelfth century had the sweeping changes brought about by and within the Irish Church and polity not been so radical. There seems to have been little if any room for fusion, but rather a complete takeover took place with the imposition of a new diocesan system and centralized regulation from Canterbury and Rome. While learned families of the monasteries survived as erenaghs into the seventeenth century,[16] rarely do we find evidence for continuity in the use of liturgy. Not only were certain local saints demoted and others promoted, but vestiges of liturgical texts associated with them almost never reappear, apart from copies found in some non-liturgical sources such as the *Lebor na hUidre* (the 'Book of the Dun Cow', dating to before 1106), and other, later, compilations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such as the *Leabhar Breac* (the 'Speckled Book'), the Book of Uí Mháine (the Book of Hy-Many or the Book of the O'Kellys), and the Book of Ballymote, made for Gaelic aristocratic patrons.[17]

The relative autonomy of Celtic-speaking ecclesiastical institutions was gradually undermined throughout Britain and Ireland by pressure from Romanizing bishops and abbots to follow central authority, as had happened earlier in continental Europe during the Carolingian period. As the Roman mission continued to expand northwards, differences between the Irish and Roman traditions generated tensions, as Bede (673–735) recorded in his writings. These differences centred especially on the timing of Easter, the form of the monastic tonsure, and aspects of the rituals of baptism and ordination. The Northumbrian Church was eventually made to comply with Roman traditions at the Synod of Whitby in 664. Following this synod, other local practices were gradually eroded in England by a series of Anglo-Saxon Church councils, in particular that held at Clofesho in 747, which decreed that the Roman liturgy and its chant should be observed throughout the province of Canterbury.

they speak only of Iona, a monastery of the Irish Church (founded by Colum Cille).

[16] These were positions inherited by lay families allowing them entitlements to church lands and as keepers of relics such as bells, croziers, and book shrines. See Henry Jefferies, 'Erenaghs in Pre-plantation Ulster: An Early Seventeenth-Century Account', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 53 (1999), 16–19; also Luke McInerney, *Clerical and Learned Lineages of Medieval Co. Clare* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014).

[17] Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MSS 23 E 25 (*Leabhar na hUidre*), 23 P 16 (the *Leabhar Breac*, 1408–11), D ii 1 (the Book of Uí Máine, 1394), and 23 P 12 (the Book of Ballymote, 1390 or 1391).

Roman influence in Ireland, while never absent, may be assumed to an increasing degree from the seventh century onwards, following the adoption of the Roman date for Easter in southern Ireland at the Synod of Mag Léna (*c*. 630) and in the northern part of the country at the Synod of Birr (697). Such tensions revealed themselves particularly in the seventh century with the opposing sides of reforming 'Romani' and conservative 'Hibernenses'. From the late eighth century, there was increasing contact with the Roman Church through monks, scholars, and pilgrims who journeyed frequently between Ireland, Britain, and the Continent, and the monastic and palace schools of the Carolingian Empire in the ninth. The Easter question was also settled elsewhere in the insular areas over the course of the seventh and eighth centuries. But aspects of local liturgical practice continued for much longer. Brittany, which since the fifth century had been closely connected with missions from Wales and Cornwall, was brought into line with Rome following the imposition of central authority on the monks of Landévennec in 818 by Charlemagne's son Louis the Pious. In the case of the Scottish Church, local liturgies were formally suppressed through reforms introduced by Queen Margaret (d. 1093). Wales submitted to Canterbury with the election of Bernard, a Norman, to the see of St Davids in 1115. In Ireland, Patrick, second Bishop of Dublin (1074–84), was consecrated at St Paul's Cathedral, London, and for a time the diocese of Dublin looked to Canterbury rather than Armagh. This situation was reversed when a separate Irish province was recognized by the Pope in 1151 and the pallia conferred at the Council of Kells in the following year, formally instituting the four sees of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam.

With specific reference to the Irish Church on the Continent, there is evidence that the *cursus scottorum* existed until at least the eighth century, as may be seen in the treatise *Ratio de cursus*. The product of a Columbanian monastery, it deals with the origins of the different divine offices by way of a response to attempts by the Merovingian bishops to unify monastic liturgical practices by imposing the Benedictine Rule throughout.[18] What is interesting about this also is the attraction of Columbanus and his followers in seventh-century Gaul

[18] *Ratio de cursus qui fuerunt eius auctores*, in *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, ed. by Kassius Hallinger, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), pp. 83–91. For further discussion, see Dominique Barbet-Massin, *L'Enluminure et le sacré: Irlande et Grande-Bretagne, VIIe–VIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris–Sorbonne, 2013), pp. 449–87; also Constant J. Mews, 'Seeking Apostolic Authority for Celtic Liturgy: The *Ratio de cursus* and Liturgical Debate in the Seventh Century' (unpublished paper presented at a conference on St Samson of Dol, held at Sydney, 11–14 June 2013).

where, as a non-aligned outsider, he was engaged as local ally to challenge the controlling power of the Gallic bishops.[19]

This very 'otherness' (real or perceived) stimulated interest in Irish liturgy and church history also at a later point in history, not least in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century publications by Louis Gougaud, Frederick E. Warren, and others. And while it is not all a fiction, the romanticization and isolation of this material as a thing apart has severely hampered progress in research. The consistent reality emerges not so much as a duality but rather as a blending of the local or regional with the universal. In-depth study of the former very often reveals earlier influences rather than unique developments, as shown, for example, in the work of Peter Jeffery, Patricia Rumsey, and Dominique Barbet-Massin.[20]

By the early twelfth century, before the process of Normanization had even begun, there is clear indication of close links between Irish religious houses and those of England and continental Europe. But even more significant were the sweeping reforms within the Irish Church itself by the mid-twelfth century under Irish bishops St Malachy (Archbishop of Armagh, 1134–48) and St Laurence O'Toole (Archbishop of Dublin, 1162–80) who introduced the Continental orders, Cistercians and Augustinians, after which others soon followed. Added to that, there was a close association between the See of Cashel, the ecclesiastical capital of the southern Irish province of Munster,[21] and Benedictine communities in England (Winchester, Canterbury) and Germany (Regensburg). The foundation of a network of Irish Schottenklöster, beginning in Regensburg in 1111 and spreading as far as Vienna over the following half-century, brought Munster into close contact with south-German ecclesiastical culture and vice versa.

Thus already some decades before the establishment of Anglo-Norman rule in Ireland, the Irish Church and its liturgy were undergoing reform from within. The handful of surviving Irish liturgical books from the twelfth century reveals variously a range of Anglo-Saxon, Norman-French, Burgundian, and south German influences. The influence of Winchester is seen in three twelfth-century Irish missals, Drummond, Rosslyn, and Corpus,[22] as well as

[19] See, for example, Clare Stancliffe, 'St Columbanus and the Gallic Bishops', in *Auctoritas: Mélanges offerts à Olivier Guillot*, ed. by G. Constable and M. Rouche (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris–Sorbonne, 2006), pp. 205–55.

[20] See the Bibliography for full references.

[21] Not to be confused with the German municipality of Münster in Bavaria!

[22] Respectively, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.627; Edinburgh, National

in the Lismore Gradual;[23] while Continental Cistercian influence is reflected in Cormac's Psalter.[24] Christ Church Cathedral Dublin itself was consecrated *c*. 1030 with the direct involvement of the Irish clerical community in Cologne which supplied the foundation relics[25] — all of which is indicative of a process of new engagement reflected also in Irish architecture, sculpture, and metalwork of the time.

With respect to the post-twelfth-century sources, while most of what they do contain exists also in British sources, they are historical testimony to several centuries of liturgical practice in Ireland, as well as to the place of the Irish Church of the time in its insular and European contexts. Their provenance is mainly the cathedral cities and monasteries of the east of Ireland (Dublin, Kilkenny, Waterford) where the Anglo- or, more accurately by the fifteenth century, Hiberno-Normans were securely established (and indeed increasingly mixed with older Gaelic families — as Patrick Brannon points out in his contribution to this volume). They therefore represent a crucially important chapter of Irish musical and cultural history, revealing specific local characteristics in the form of masses and offices for Irish saints, material which (with few exceptions) is not found in British Sarum sources. Furthermore, they also reveal patterns of veneration of English, Welsh, and universal saints which shed light on Irish ecclesiastical networks — as Sally Harper shows in her chapter with respect to the veneration of St David. In due course research will enable us to gain a more comprehensive overview of the range not only of liturgical but also

Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 18.5.19; and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 282.

[23] See Francis Joseph Lawrence, 'An Irish Gradual of the Twelfth Century — Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 892: A Palaeographical, Liturgical and Repertorial Study', 2 vols (upublished doctoral thesis, University College Dublin, 2008); see also Frank Lawrence, 'What Did They Sing at Cashel in 1172? Winchester, Sarum and Romano-Frankish Chant in Ireland', *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland*, 3 (2007–08), 111–25.

[24] See note 14, above.

[25] See Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Calendar and Martyrology of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin', in *The Medieval Manuscripts of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, ed. by Raymond Gillespie and Raymond Refaussé (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 33–59 (p. 51); Raghnall Ó Floinn, 'The Foundation Relics of Christ Church Cathedral and the Origin of the Diocese of Dublin', in *Medieval Dublin*, VII: *Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2005*, ed. by Seán Duffy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 89–102. See also Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Dublin's Oldest Book? A List of Saints "made in Germany"', *Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium*, ed. by Seán Duffy, Medieval Dublin, 5 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 52–72, and Ó Riain 'The Calendar' for useful comments on the inclusion of Irish (p. 53) and English (pp. 53–55) saints in the Christ Church martyrology.

of musical influences at work which, as Harper suggests, will help considerably to clarify patterns of shared materials and exchange between all of the insular diocesan and monastic institutions.

Thus, only when these materials are examined systematically, in their local, insular, and European contexts, can we begin to assess the history of music in the medieval Irish Church, an institution which, by its very definition, was part of the Church of Rome with which it interacted at a number of levels (and with which it was notably at variance in its earlier history, along with other 'regional' churches such as in Gaul, Brittany, Lombardy, and Milan, before the Carolingian reforms). It is beyond doubt, as the results of new research amply demonstrate here, that Irish expression in music and liturgy combined elements of the international, the regional, and the local. In this respect it conforms with findings in other fields of enquiry, such as Irish literature, architecture, manuscript production, and the visual arts — and indeed the very act of writing itself.

Irish Chant

Although we lack music notation in any form in pre-twelfth-century Irish sources, early Irish literature is suffused with accounts of music-making, both sacred and secular, including references to performers and their patrons, occasions of music-making, and the psycho-emotional effects of music on their audiences — an aspect in which these writers appear to have taken a particular interest. We have a view of a sophisticated musical culture in both religious and secular life (and in the crossover between the two), in respect of performance, theory, and instrument-making. At the elite level of Gaelic society, no expense was spared in producing high-quality stringed instruments, lavishly ornamented with precious metals.[26]

In the case of liturgical culture, we see in sources such as the Antiphonary of Bangor and the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* the diverse nature of the Irish hymn

[26] Ann Buckley, 'Musical Instruments in Ireland from the 9th to the 14th centuries: A Review of the Organological Evidence', in *Musicology in Ireland*, ed. by Gerard Gillen and Harry White, Irish Musical Studies, 1 (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1990), pp. 13–57; also Buckley, 'Music and Musicians' and Buckley, 'Music in Ireland'; and Niamh Whifield, 'Lyres Decorated with Snakes, Birds and Hounds in *Táin Bó Fraích*', in *A Carnival of Learning: Essays to Honour George Cunningham and his 50 Conferences on Medieval Ireland in the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St Joseph, Roscrea, 1987–2012*, ed. by Peter Harbison and Valerie Hall (Roscrea: Cistercian Press, 2012), pp. 218–31.

and associated repertory. The poetry which we know to have been sung or declaimed reveals a rich array of forms and creativity in word, metre, and rhyme, characterized, typically, by short phrases, rather than fully constructed sentences, reflected also in the surviving examples of chant, and suggesting a strong connection with oral performance practice more generally. The fusion of Latin learning with Gaelic culture produced new forms of creative and imaginative expression in the form of Hiberno-Latin and early Irish poetry and literature. Poetic features included macaronic elements; a shift from quantitative to syllabic metre; word-play with alliteration, assonance, and rhyme. But whether there was any distinctively Irish chant we may never know, although it seems more reasonable to assume the inflections of local vernacular singing styles than an actual distinctive repertory, as suggested in Michel Huglo's chapter where the chants he identifies as sung in the Irish Church were Gallican in origin; and yet references to the singing of the *Te Deum* in two parts, as described in the *Musica enchiriadis*, may well be just the kind of instance which points to a regional or vernacular practice.

The first systematic attempt to investigate pre-Norman Irish chant was made by Bruno Stäblein,[27] who identified in later sources notated versions of a number of antiphons known to have been used in the early Irish Church (and developed further by Michel Huglo in his chapter presented herein). Some years later, in an important article on the Inchcolm Antiphoner, Isobel Woods Preece observed how the chants for Columba/Colum Cille were differently structured from those for the Office of Corpus Christi which are found also in this source.[28] But what in fact can be said about these melodies beyond saying what they are not? In other words, does non-Gregorian have to mean 'Scottish', 'Irish', or, for that matter, indigenous in any narrowly local sense?

Stäblein and Woods Preece have described how the non-Gregorian melodies are more formulaic, cellular, repetitive while Roman chant is relatively more linear and structured, with more intricate melodic development. On closer examination, one can see parallels with other repertories such as the early sequence, and manifest also in some vernacular Old French *lais* of the twelfth

[27] Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien'.

[28] Isobel Woods Preece, '"Our awin Scottis Use": Chant Usage in Medieval Scotland', in *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music of the Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. by Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), pp. 55–74 (esp. pp. 61–69).

and thirteenth centuries.[29] Therefore it seems more likely that they represent an older practice which was once widespread in western Europe, of which only a few traces survive. They are not sufficiently distinctive or memorable as melodies to have a clearly recognizable regional identity; rather, they indicate a process, a way of singing and of melodic expression which, while being more than heightened speech, could nonetheless be adapted to any kind of appropriate text or line-length. In this sense, therefore, Isobel Woods Preece was correct: they represent a late survival of an older (oral-formulaic) tradition of singing, but they are unlikely to be exclusive to Scottish (or Irish, or indeed any other) regional practice and are more likely to belong to earlier European oral tradition. How they were sung is, of course, another matter, and one may well imagine regional accents and nuances in performance which were specific to a region or a monastic school.[30]

[29] For further discussion, see Ann Buckley, 'Lyric Lais and the Use of Formulae', in *Acta Musicologica: Proceedings of the International Musicological Congress 'Musica antiqua Europae Orientalis', 5–10 September 1988*, ed. by Andrzej Szwalbe (Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska im. I. Paderewskiego, 1988), I, 193–207.

[30] As this book was going to press, I was informed by Warwick Edwards of new research on the Inchcolm manuscript by Katherine Kennedy Steiner who identifies the chants for Columba/Colum Cille as having concordances with melodies found elsewhere in the international repertory, both insular and Continental, thus far from being unique or local to Scottish practice. This type of investigation has only latterly beome possible thanks to the increasing availability of online databases for chant melodies, in particular, that of CANTUS (<http://www.cantusdatabase.org>). See Katherine Hope Kennedy Steiner, 'Notre Dame in Scotland: W_1 and Liturgical Reform at St Andrews' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 2013; <http://dataspace.princeton.edu/jspui/handle/88435/dsp.01j098zb24m>), currently being revised for publication as a monograph with the working title, 'A French Outpost in Medieval Scotland: The Politics of Cross-Cultural Liturgical Music'. I thank Warwick Edwards for generously allowing me sight of his unpublished paper, 'The Inchcolm *libellus* and its European Context', presented at a workshop which I convened on 'Medieval Insular Liturgical Manuscripts with Music: Local, Regional and European Perspectives', at Trinity College Dublin on 16–17 June 2015. Warwick Edwards is preparing an edition of the Inchcolm manuscript which he, more correctly, calls a 'libellus' since it is only one small gathering which would have once belonged to a larger antiphoner. He concludes that the evidence shows that the kingdom of Scotland was 'fully integrated [...] into the European ecclesiastical and political scene' of the time. Furthermore, it was gratifying to discover that we are of one mind on the idea that such melodies with a cellular structure are indicative of oral performance practice rather than representing a regional musical dialect as such.

Irish Saints' Cults and the Liturgy

The idea of a golden age of Irish saints goes back to the mid-seventh century and has continued ever since with particular high points in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and again around the time of the Reformation, the latter part of the nineteenth century, the early twentieth-century 'Revival', the 'New Age' movement of the late twentieth/early twenty-first century, and most recently in relation to ecology, environmental issues, and the many religious and non-religious groups actively reclaiming space for the spirit and for spiritual expression in modern life. This represents an interesting juxtaposition of the old and the new: just as it appeared that the old 'pattern days'[31] associated with traditional religious faith were dying out — or at least becoming increasingly the preserve of a handful of rural communities — new developments in cultural and religious tourism, outdoor pursuits, and the revival of pilgrim routes include people of all faiths and none.[32]

Several of the earliest lives of Irish and Welsh saints were written or preserved on the Continent, such as those of Samson (seventh century), Jonas's biography of Columbanus (seventh century), and Fursa (late seventh century). This changed in the seventh century with the systematic production of *Vitae Sanctorum* in Ireland, an interest possibly influenced by the experience of the disaster of the Great Plague of 665.[33] There are just over one hundred Latin *vitae* dating from the late seventh to the fourteenth century. Virtually all of those saints included were from the fifth/sixth to the mid-seventh centuries, indicating that it was primarily an idealizing, retrospective exercise. Bede (731) also advanced the reputation of the Church in Ireland and North Britain (Northumbria, Lindisfarne, Whithorn) at the expense of Rome,[34] establishing

[31] This is a colloquial term used in Ireland for the celebration of the feast day of a local patron saint. Typically it involves a pilgrimage to a site associated with the saint, such as a holy well, a church, a presumed place of burial. See, for example, Peter Harbison, *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The Monuments and the People* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1991).

[32] See, for example, Ian Bradley, *Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), which contains a useful and wide-ranging survey, but needs to be read with caution.

[33] A catalogue of the saints of Ireland was produced in the first half of the eighth century. See James A. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929; repr. Dublin: Pádraig Ó Táilliúir, 1979), no. 271, pp. 478–79.

[34] See Bradley, *Celtic Christianity*, pp. 25–27, and other references given there.

a shrine to St Oswald and promoting the cult of St Aidan, and of St Cuthbert whose Life he wrote.

The development of hagiography and local cults is reflected also in the saint's Office. While of particular interest to musicologists and liturgiologists, these texts have much wider significance. In addition to the lections (the lessons or readings of the liturgy), many individual sung items such as antiphons, responsories, hymns, and sequences were compiled and adapted from the written Life of the saint in question, which can usually be identified from existing sources; but there are sometimes details, otherwise lost to the hagiographic tradition, which have survived only in liturgical manuscripts. They thus have a historical value well beyond their immediate contexts.

The oldest hymns (in Latin and in Irish) are dedicated to Patrick, Brigit, and Colum Cille (as shown in Ann Buckley's contribution). However, unlike the better-known Lives (the hagiographic sources) and the extensive work undertaken in hymnology, the liturgical 'propers' — materials for offices and masses particular to a saint's feast day — have only recently become the subject of systematic documentation. Hence the essays in this collection contribute not only to the main topic at issue here, that is, the Irish legacy, but also to the larger task of gathering data on medieval saints' offices as a whole, making more material available for comparative study.

More generally, musicological scholarship on saints' offices is a relatively recent development.[35] The significance of new research findings here (e.g., the case studies by Brannon, Furlong, Haggh-Huglo, Hair, Hangartner, Knott, Mannaerts, O'Driscoll, Petersen, and Picard), the context-setting of Haggh-Huglo and Picard, and the insights into processes of local and regional patronage such as those by Haggh-Huglo, Hair, Mannaerts, Petersen, and Picard, extend far beyond solely Irish interests. But it is the first time that Irish materials have been presented unequivocally from this wider, more critical, comparative perspective.

Finally, there is one important caveat running through this book, that is, that we cannot in all cases know whether every saint claimed as Irish in the sources was actually of Irish birth. There are several reasons why such claims existed. First, it became something of a fashion, indeed a political expedient, in medieval Europe to claim an Irish founder saint or patron in order to lend antiquity or credibility to myths of origin; or even to invent saints who never

[35] For example, the *Historiae* series published by the Institute for Mediaeval Music, Ottawa, referred to in Barbara Haggh-Huglo's chapter, where she also provides an overview of the field.

existed. Examples of the former may be seen in the contributions of Petersen (St Sunniva) and, possibly, though not conclusively, Mannaerts (St Dympna), and of the latter in Haggh-Huglo's essay (St Livinus). Second, some saints who are unlikely to have come from Ireland appear to have been regarded as Irish by virtue of association with the Columbanian Church, that is, the Continental monastic foundations of St Columbanus, which were not exclusively (or even predominantly) Irish communities but included local people among their number, whether in Luxeuil, St Gallen, Bobbio, or elsewhere.[36] It becomes somewhat irrelevant, therefore, to pursue to its limits the question of whether a particular saint was Irish by birth, and more important to address the possible reason for this identification. Not that these issues were exclusive to Irish figures either: St Ursula, for example, has been claimed as both English and German. But neither do they detract from our subject since our search is for liturgical materials not only for Irish saints per se but as a register of the influence and cultural memory of the Irish Church in Ireland, Britain, and Europe as reflected in the medieval liturgy.

The authors represent a variety of specialisms within medieval studies including musicology, liturgiology, palaeography, hagiology, theology, church history, Latin, French studies, and Celtic studies. From this rich variety of perspectives, their chapters examine the evidence for musical and related liturgical practices in the Irish Church in Ireland as found in the earliest surviving sources (sixth to ninth centuries: Michel Huglo, Neil Xavier O'Donoghue, Patricia M. Rumsey); in a comparative study with Scotland and Wales (Greta-Mary Hair, Sally Harper, Betty I. Knott, Ciaran O'Driscoll); and in the liturgical veneration of Irish saints whose cults developed throughout medieval Europe as a result of the missionary activities of the *Peregrini* — the travelling Irish monks of the sixth to eighth centuries, and their successors. One aspect of their influence has been permanently recorded in the many manuscripts containing their *vitae* (Jean-Michel Picard); another in numerous offices and masses composed subsequently, and for a variety of motives, to celebrate founding patrons and

[36] Examples include Babolenus, whose notated Office survives in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 12044, a twelfth-century antiphoner from the abbey of St-Maur-des-Fossés. I thank Kate Helsen for informing me of this source and for her kindness in allowing me access to her unpublished edition. Another example is St Disibod whose Life and Office were written by Hildegard of Bingen at the behest of Archbishop Henry of Mainz (1142–1153). We are not sure whether Disibod was Irish or from the Rhineland, but he was celebrated as an exemplary Irish hermit in the eleventh century. His Office with music notation survives in Hildegard's *Riesenkodex*, Wiesbaden, Landesbibliothek, MS 2, fols 470va–475vb (*c.* 1175/90).

other holy men and women from Ireland, or to whom an Irish provenance was attributed (Sara G. Casey, Barbara Haggh-Huglo, Bernhard Hangartner, Pieter Mannaerts, Nils Holger Petersen, Jean-Michel Picard). Most of those thus commemorated had become local figures of veneration in different parts of northern, central, southern, and eastern Europe. Unlike the small number of universal Irish saints (such as Patrick, Brigit, Columba/Colum Cille, Brendan, and Fursa), many of them were not culted, or perhaps even generally known, in Ireland itself (although the absence of local evidence is not always a reliable guide). Typical examples are St Fintan of Rheinau and St Dympna of Gheel (as discussed, respectively, by Bernhard Hangartner and Pieter Mannaerts).

* * *

The volume opens with a position paper by Michel Huglo on the current state of research on Irish chant. He extends previous work by Bruno Stäblein by identifying three more chant melodies known to have been used in the Irish Church while stressing the need to search more exhaustively among the many fragments of liturgical books in Irish script still surviving in Continental libraries.

A second position paper, by Barbara Haggh-Huglo, provides an account of the development of the *historia* genre, accompanied by a case study of an Office for the seemingly fictitious Irish saint Livinus, in sources which reach from Ghent to Pécs and Prague. Finally, Nils Holger Petersen explores local politics in the case of the cults of Sts Olav and (the purportedly Irish-born) Sunniva in Norway.

The next section addresses saints' offices in Continental, Irish, and Scottish and Welsh sources, respectively. Jean-Michel Picard shows how liturgical manuscripts may provide insight into the status (and associated reasons for it) accorded particular saints such as Patrick, Brigit, Colum Cille, Brendan, and Fursa; he includes an edition of the text of a Mass of St Brigit from fifteenth-century Piacenza as part of a wider discourse on the dissemination of Irish saints' lives in continental Europe, primarily Brittany, France, and Italy. Sara G. Casey provides an overview of proper chants for Irish saints in Continental manuscripts, noting that melodies used in offices for some of the principal *Peregrini* shows certain similarities to the style of Gallican chant. Bernhard Hangartner and Pieter Mannaerts analyse notated offices for St Fintan of Rheinau and St Dympna of Gheel, respectively. As in the case of Sunniva (in Petersen's chapter), veneration of both of these figures remained exclusively local and represents part of the widespread practice of revival and promotion of the cults of saints to new ends in the High Middle Ages.

Ann Buckley examines the earliest evidence for the veneration of local saints in the Irish liturgy. Senan Furlong explores the evolution of the Office of St Patrick and shows how it reveals an Anglo-Norman recasting of his cult to meet the requirements of the new political order. In an analysis of the chant texts and melodies of the Office of St Canice, Patrick Brannon shows how they combine Irish, Sarum, and continental features and suggests that they reflect the cultural mix of Anglo-Norman and Irish inhabitants of late medieval Kilkenny.

Moving to two of Ireland's immediate neighbours, Scotland and Wales, a number of comparable issues are explored. The three 'Scottish' chapters are presented as a complementary group of case studies, each examining a different facet of a saint's Office from Scotland and with various elements of Irish influence. Betty I. Knott's study of the Office of St Kentigern, patron saint of Glasgow, identifies Hiberno-Latin features in the rhymed (i.e. sung) sections — underlining the importance of these later offices as repositories of local nuance and links with an earlier Irish Life, indicated by the presence of Hisperic Latin and Greek.

Issues of politics and patronage are taken up once more in Greta-Mary Hair's contribution which focuses on the question of how and why the Irishman St Columba, founder of Iona and in so many respects a Scottish 'national' saint (as well as Irish one), was passed over as patron saint of Scotland in spite of his importance in the history of the Scottish conversion to Christianity. St Andrew was chosen in preference, for reasons which are linked to local and national power struggles on the part of the Scottish Church against the archbishopric of York whereby a link with the international church through a prestigious Roman martyr would help consolidate local Scottish autonomy. This has many parallels and demonstrates very pratically the way in which some saints became prominent and others sidelined, or even erased from the record.

Ciaran O'Driscoll lays out his method for reconstructing a liturgical Office from disparate sources by taking the example of St Brendan. Like many Irish saints, Brendan was venerated in both countries (and indeed further afield), as may be seen specifically in the reference to him as 'of the Scots' in one of the readings in the Aberdeen Breviary (1510),[37] dating from a time when the term *Scotti* no longer referred to the Irish, so the association is beyond doubt.

[37] See *Legends of Scottish Saints: Readings, Hymns and Prayers for the Commemorations of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*, ed. by Alan Maquarrie with Rachel Butter and contributions by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), p. 122. See O'Driscoll in this volume, Appendix, *Lectio prima*.

Sally Harper's account of the changes brought about in the Welsh Church with the imposition of English rule in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries provides valuable material for comparison with Ireland at that time, as well as with the earlier pre-Norman Church, such as the eremitical *Céli Dé* communities of Irish origin, and the late survival of certain 'archaic' practices found also in early Rome. She also explores other aspects of Irish links with Wales, including manuscripts which attest to Irish-Welsh contact, and education. Bishop Sulien (1011–91) of St Davids, for example, was educated in Ireland.

The final section addresses extra-musical characteristics of the liturgy, its rites and rituals, beginning with two further studies of pre-Norman Irish liturgical practices. Patricia Rumsey examines the *Nauigatio Brendani* as a source of information for the role and meaning of the hour of Compline in the early Irish liturgy, and the presence of surviving elements from Eastern Christianity, a topic which deserves much more attention. Neil Xavier O'Donoghue illustrates the duality of universal church norms and local characteristics as expressed in the continued use of the chrismal in Ireland, but in a specifically localized way.

In the concluding essay, Liam Tracey reviews the historiography of 'Celtic Rite' scholarship by exploring first of all the meaning of terms such as 'rite', 'liturgy', and indeed the appropriateness of the use of the term 'Celtic' in this context. He also raises the pertinent issue of 'Gallican' (in its sense of southern Gaul) versus 'Romano-Frankish' (which admits of the presence of Roman elements from the beginning).

This book is dedicated to the memory of Michel Huglo who sadly did not live to see his chapter in print. As well as his monumental scholarship in so many other areas of chant and medieval musicology, Michel always kept the *Scotti* in his sights. *Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam uasal*.

Chant in the Early Irish Church

A Study of Early Irish Chant

Michel Huglo†
Translated by Ann Buckley

Thanks to the research of scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Irish liturgical books are known to musicologists for their inventory of forms of liturgical chant in use in Britain and Ireland and in Irish Continental foundations. As with the study of palaeography, it is often difficult to distinguish whether a document written in Irish script emanates from the Emerald Isle, Scotland,[1] or Northumbria. According to Bernard Bischoff, 'by this term [insular script] we understand the Irish, the other Celtic scripts, and the Anglo-Saxon together'.[2] We should add that Irish monks who travelled on the Continent, or who lived in a large monastery, sometimes left a written record of their visit in the form of certain letters or of their particular system of abbreviation.[3] But they also left liturgical books written in Irish script, often

[1] For example, the *libri Scottice scripti* of the *Breviarium librorum* or catalogue of the manuscripts of the library at Saint-Gall, founded around 884/88: The abbey was occupied by numerous monks from Britain and Ireland, such as the teachers of Notker Balbulus, Iso (d. 14 May 871), Moengal (Marcellus), and 'his brother Salomon'. The *fratres hellenici*, mentioned by Notker in his letter *ad Lambertum*, are Irish Hellenists.

[2] Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography, Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; repr. 1990), p. 83. It is not necessary to discuss here the thesis of François Masai (*Essai sur les origines de la miniature dite irlandaise*, Éditions de Scriptorium, 1 (Bruxelles: Erasme, 1947)) concerning whether Ireland or Northumbria was the cradle for insular script.

[3] Bernhard Bischoff, 'Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich', *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 (1981), 39–54. In the *Alleluia* prosula, 'Psalle modulamina', notated in neumes and added at the end of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9543 (*Expositio in Lucam* of St Ambrose, written *c*. 850 by Engyldeo), the vertical bar of the **r** descends below the line as occurs in manuscripts in Irish script: it therefore represents an addition of neumed text by an Irishman at St Emmeram.

Music, Liturgy, and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context, ed. by Ann Buckley, RITUS 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) pp. 1–22
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.RITUS-EB.5.111062

decorated in the style characteristic of Irish miniature,[4] notably in insular centres on the Continent.

Sources of Early Irish Liturgical Chant

The sources to be consulted for the history of the liturgical chant of Ireland[5] are, firstly, liturgical psalters in Irish script studied by Henry Marriott Bannister;[6] then the Irish hymnal contained in the Antiphonary of Bangor and in hymnaries separate from the Psalter;[7] and finally, among the missals, the Stowe Missal, which has preserved the litany *Peccavimus Domine, peccavimus, parce peccatis nostris*, which had reached the Continent by the end of the eighth century.[8]

The Antiphonary of Bangor,[9] written without a preconceived plan by two copyists between 680 and 691, then brought to Bobbio in 824, is also both a hymnal and a collectar: it merits close study because of its text of the *Te Deum*

[4] Klaus Gamber, 'Irische Liturgiebücher und ihre Verbreitung auf dem Kontinent', in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. by Heinz Löwe (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), pp. 536–48. To that list should be added the fragment of a lectionary discovered by Michael McCormick, referred to in his review of Gamber's article in *Scriptorium*, 40 (1986), 116*, no. 520.

[5] The oldest *libri liturgici celtici* are listed, together with a bibliography, by Klaus Gamber, in *CLLA*, I.1, 130–52, nos 101–77. Cf. the supplement (*CLLA*, *Ergänzungs- und Registerband*), published with the collaboration of Bonifacio Baroffio and others in 1988.

[6] Henry Marriott Bannister, 'Irish Psalters', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 12 (1911), 280–84. See also *CLLA*, I.1, no. 135, to which Gamber adds the *Cathach* or Psalter of St Columba (no. 130). It has not thus far been possible to examine the liturgical content of the Faddan More Psalter, discovered in a bog on 20 July 2006, due to the state of what is thought most likely to be vellum. Preliminary discussions were published in *Archaeology Ireland*, 20.3 (Autumn 2006), Supplement, pp. 1–159. See <http://www.museum.ie/en/exhibition/list/focus-on-the-faddan-more-psalter.aspx>. I thank Ann Buckley for having informed me of this important discovery.

[7] Cf. *ILH*; also Guido Maria Dreves, *Hymnodia Hiberno-Celtica*, in *AH*, L, 259–359.

[8] For the Stowe Missal, written probably at Tallaght after 792, see *CLLA*, I.1, 132, no. 101. The antiphon, *Peccavimus*, which precedes a litany (*AB*, I, 3), occurs without notation in the Irish fragments in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1395, and also in three manuscripts from Corbie (cf. Michel Huglo, *Les manuscrits du Processionnal*, 2 vols, Répertoire international des sources musicales, B XIV 2 (München: Henle, 1999), II, 621.

[9] For the date, editions, and bibliography of the manuscript, see *CLLA*, I.1, 146, no. 150. Compare Michael Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984). A slightly different analysis of the contents may be found in Peter Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements in Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments,*

and the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, antiphons assigned to the Divine Office, and the seven antiphons for the Communion of the Mass. Several early fragments written in Irish majuscule or minuscule, from Reichenau, Echternach, and St Gallen, contain hymns and chant items that have not all been identified.[10]

Before addressing the topic of the liturgical chant of Irish monks it is first necessary to turn to the origins of Christianity, introduced to Ireland by Palladius but spread and organized by St Patrick. The apostle of Ireland encouraged Christians to devote themselves entirely to prayer in the framework of monastic life: consequently, the liturgy of Ireland was at its origins a monastic liturgy. Nonetheless, whatever the date of the establishment of the Divine Office in the first communities of monks and nuns, one could not say that the organization of liturgy and chant reached the same level of advancement as in the monasteries of contemporary Italy, Gaul, and Spain. St Patrick had extensive contact with the churches of Gaul, perhaps that of Poitiers, because the name of its great bishop, St Hilary (d. 367/68), remained attached to the first hymn of the Antiphonary of Bangor, *Ymnum sancti Hilarii de Christo, 'Ymnum dicat turba fratrum'*.[11] Even more significant, the division of Irish psalters into three groups of fifty is a practice which dates to the time of St Hilary,[12] if not earlier.

Responsorial Psalmody

During this first century of the history of the Irish Church, as also throughout early Christianity, liturgical books were limited to the Psalter for the prayer of the hours of the Divine Office, and to the books of the Bible for the readings of the Office and the Mass. The devotion of Irish monks to the Psalms and Canticles of the Bible is undoubtedly a result of a collective memory strongly anchored in these modest beginnings.

Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 99–143.

[10] *CLLA*, I.1, 147–50, nos 151–63.

[11] *AH*, LI, 264, no. 214 (edition based on eleven manuscripts and fragments). On the attribution of this hymn to Hilary of Poitiers, see the discussion in Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, pp. 22–24.

[12] *Tribus vero quinquagesimis psalmorum liber continetur* (S. Hilarii episcopi Pictaviensis, *Tractatus super psalmos*, ed. by Anton Zingerle, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, 22 (Wien: G. Freytag, 1891), p. 10 (*Instructio psalmorum*)). Cf. Michel Huglo, 'Hilarius von Poitiers', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, 29 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter–Metzler, 1994–2007, suppl. 2008), VIII (2002), 1524–25.

In the fourth century, psalmody was performed in two different ways: either *in directum*, that is, *recto tono* recitation with a pause on the mediant and a light inflection of the voice at the end of the versicle; or responsorially, as practised in Italy and in Africa in the time of Augustine, as well as in the churches of Gaul and Spain.

In this second system, a cantor who had attained the minor order of Psalmist,[13] or sometimes a deacon, intoned the *responsorium* which the faithful then took up. Between each Psalm verse begun by the psalmist, the congregation repeated the *responsorium*, comprised of three to six words taken from a Psalm verse. The *responsorium* was sung to the same tenor as the psalmody, which thus required no specialist knowledge of music on the part of the congregation.

The antiphon *Cor meum*, of Psalm 83 in the Ambrosian antiphoner in London,[14] the antiphons of the *Psalterium per hebdomadam* of the 'Gregorian' chant for Psalms 62 (*In matutinis*), 119 (*Clamavi*), 130 (*Speret*), and 131 (*Et omnis*), and that of the Canticle of Moses (*Cantemus*) are all vestiges of old *responsoria* elevated to the role of antiphon while retaining their archaic structure.[15]

The practice of responsorial psalmody has left a slight trace in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*: in the case of ten items from this hymnal, two assonanced lines, preceded by the letter **R**, are written after the first strophe of the hymn, for example, in the case of the *Oratio sancti Columbani*, **R** 'Christus lorica militum / Christus creator omnium'.[16] This is in fact the oldest attestation of the

[13] Evidence for the minor order of Psalmist in the West is seen in the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* of the church at Arles, ed. by Charles Munier, *Les Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), p. 98.

[14] *Paléographie Musicale: Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican. publiés en fac-similés phototypiques par bénédictins de Solesmes* (Solesmes, Tournai, Berne, 1889–), V and VI, fol. 171.

[15] These five antiphons are found in the *Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1934), with the denomination of *irregularis*, i.e., 'not part of the eight-tone system'. The psalmodic *differentia* chosen by the editor, Dom Joseph Gajard, was taken from the Ambrosian chant; cf. Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires* (Paris: Heugel, 1971), p. 396, n. 1.

[16] *AH*, LI, 285, no. 218. Note the reference to the armour (*lorica*) of the soldiers of Christ, derived from the teachings of St Patrick. The same majuscule, **R**, occurs in gold ink seventy times in the Psalter of Saint Germain of Paris to indicate the Psalm verse chosen as *responsorium*. See the transcription of these **R**s by Michel Huglo, 'Le répons-graduel de la Messe: Évolution de la forme, permanence de la fonction', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, n.s., 2 (1952), 59–60; repr. Michel Huglo, *Chant grégorien et musique médiévale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), Art. III, pp. 53–73.

versus, a liturgical genre found in Gaul in the *versus* of Venantius Fortunatus (d. 600), and later in those of Ratpert and Hartmann of St Gall.

Antiphonal Psalmody

At the end of the fourth century, antiphony was introduced at Milan following the model of the Eastern churches and spread rapidly to all of the churches of the West, according to the account by Augustine.[17] The brief *responsorium* of the Psalter became an antiphon framing a psalm or a canticle while retaining its original melody. In responsorial psalmody, the *responsorium* is sung and concluded on the same tenor as the psalm, while in the case of antiphony, it is the antiphon which controls the choice of the psalm tone, of which the tenor is always situated from three to five degrees higher than the final of the antiphon.[18] Following Eastern models, the text of the antiphons is taken from other books of the Bible and extends to three, four, or more elements, while the ambitus of the melody extends sometimes as far as an octave.

It is to this advanced stage of development of the antiphon that the Antiphonary of Bangor belongs. It preserves only thirty antiphons of what was certainly a larger repertory, as the study of Irish psalters has shown. In the *Cathach* of St Columba,[19] the titles of the Psalms indicate the correct spiritual meaning to be applied to the words of the psalmist, for example, *Vox Christi*, *Vox Ecclesiae*. The series of *tituli* often vary from one psalter to another,[20] but do not affect the psalmody.

The psalters in Irish script,[21] from Ireland or Scotland, are divided into three fifties, as in Gallican practice, by a large decorated initial. In Milan, the

[17] For details of the well-known circumstances surrounding the introduction of antiphony to the West, see Michel Huglo, 'Recherches sur la psalmodie alternée à deux chœurs', *Revue bénédictine*, 116 (2006), 352–66.

[18] For more information, see Huglo, 'Recherches', pp. 356–58 (with an example of two genres of psalmody in parallel). Here I do not consider the musical development of the simple *responsorium* which concludes the Response-Gradual (the *Psalmellus* of Milan) and the great responsory of the night Office.

[19] On the *Cathach*, the 'Battler' or Psalter of St Columba (545–615), Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 12 R 23, see *CLLA*, 1,1, 140, no. 130.

[20] See the edition by Dom Pierre Salmon, *Les 'tituli psalmorum' des manuscrits latins*, Collectanea Biblica Latina, 12 (Roma: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1959), pp. 77–93.

[21] A facsimile of the Psalter of St Caimín (eleventh century; formerly Dublin, Franciscan Convent, MS 50, and now kept in the Archives of University College Dublin as MS A1) is published in Edel Bhreathnach and Bernadette Cunningham, eds, *Writing Irish History: The*

150 psalms are subdivided into *deguriae* which are redistributed, for better or worse, among the nocturns of the night Office from Monday to Friday over two consecutive weeks;[22] a single antiphon frames all of the psalms of each of the three nocturns. The Canticles of the Bible are assigned to Saturday and Sunday. The Vespers Psalms, 109–47, are distributed over the days of each week, while the last three Psalms, 148–50, or *Laudes*, are used for the dawn Office, commonly referred to as 'Lauds'.

In the three old psalters of the Ambrosian Rite, a collect follows each Psalm, according to an old practice described by John Cassian, Abbot of St Victor of Marseille (*c*. 415–30). This collect was recited by the hebdomadary after a short prayer in secret following the doxology at the conclusion of each Psalm. Later on, in the eleventh century, the practice was replaced by a single prayer at the conclusion of the Office.

In the Irish psalters, the distribution of the psalms, biblical canticles, and collects was arranged, according to research by Bannister,[23] in the following way:

After Ps. 50: Prayer I *Deus altissime*
Canticle I *Benedicite omnia opera* (Dan. 3. 57–88 and 56)
Canticle II *Confitebor tibi Domine* (Is. 12)
Canticle III *Ego dixi in dimidio* (Is. 38. 10–20)

After Ps. 100: Canticle IV *Exultavit cor meum* (1 Reg. 2. 1–10)
Canticle V *Cantemus Domino* (Exod. 15. 1–19)
Canticle VI *Domine audivi* (Hab. 3)
Prayer II *Deus quem exercitus*

Four Masters and their World (Dublin: Wordwell, 2007), p. 50, fig. 4.3. I am indebted to Ann Buckley for her generosity in sending me a copy of this fine publication. The manuscript is digitized at <http://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html>.

[22] The division of the Milanese Psalter into three fifties is not as orderly as it appears in the table by Peter Jeffery (Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements', p. 103, table 5.1); see the detailed table of this division in *Paléographie Musicale*, VI, 9.

[23] Bannister, 'Irish Psalters', p. 281. Further information about these prayers and canticles can be found in *AH*; see, for example, *AH*, LI, 289–91, no. 221. Apart from the psalters, Blume and Dreves have collated the Antiphonary of Bangor and the Turin fragment, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS 882 N 8 (*ol*. F IV 1, fragm. IX): cf. *CLA*, IV, no. 454 and *CLLA*, I,1, 147, no. 151.

After Ps. 150: Canticle VII *Audite caeli* (Deut. 32. 1–43)
Prayer III *Te Dominum de caelis*
Prayer IV *Deus qui exeunti*

We note, in agreement with Bannister, that the version of the biblical canticles used is that of the Vulgate and that their order is precisely that of the Roman Office of Lauds,[24] introduced to Britain by Augustine of Canterbury who was sent on a mission by Pope Gregory the Great (590–604);[25] we must therefore accept that these seven biblical canticles were inserted into Irish psalters only in the course of the seventh century.

It remains to be determined how these three groups of fifty psalms were distributed over the eight hours of the *cursus* of psalmody in Irish monasteries as they are presented in the Antiphonary of Bangor and in the collectar of St Mary and St Corbinian of Freising.[26] This subdivision was in use at the monastery of Tallaght and undoubtedly also in other Irish and Scottish monasteries.[27] Nevertheless, in Columbanian monasteries the daily round of psalmody was regulated, following the view of the older monks, in accordance with the changing length of night throughout the four seasons of the year.

Chapter VII of *De cursu psalmorum* of the Rule of St Columbanus[28] indicates the number of Psalms to be recited at each hour of the Divine Office,

[24] For information on the biblical canticles in Irish manuscripts, see Heinrich Schneider, *Die altlateinischne biblischen Cantica*, Texte und Arbeiten, 29/30 (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 1938), pp. 89–98.

[25] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* (*PL*, xcv, col. 56) and *Vita sancti Augustini Cantuariensis* by Jean Goscelin (*BHL* 777). Commentary by Kenneth Levy, 'A Gregorian Processional Antiphon', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, n.s., 2 (1982), 91–106. The *Codex Amiatinus* (*CLA*, iii, 299), containing the complete text of the Vulgate, was written at Jarrow or at Wearmouth at the order of Ceolfrid (690–716).

[26] Antiphonary of Bangor, fol. 18; Collectary of Freising (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27305), in the hymn, 'Te oramus Altissime' (*AH*, li, 279, no. 220) containing the rhythmic collects recited *Ad secundam*, *Ad tertiam*, *Ad sextam*, *Ad nonam*, *Ad vespertinum*, *Ad initium noctis* (= Compline), *Ad nocturnum*, and lastly, *Ad matutinum*, with two alternative pieces.

[27] Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements', p. 103, table 5.3. See also Louis Gougaud, 'Étude sur l'*Ordo monasticus* de Culros', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 23 (1927), 764–78.

[28] *Regula monachorum*, in *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. and trans. G. S. M. Walker and L. Bieler, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 2 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies), pp. 122–42, regarded as authentic by literary scholars; cf. Eligius Dekkers, *Clavis patrum latinorum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 358, n° 1108. For further details, see Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, ch. 20: 'The Structure of the Monastic Office' (pp. 166–68).

according to the seasons: this number ranges from twelve psalms in summertime to seventy-five in winter, for the night Office, but remains fixed at three psalms throughout the year for the daytime hours. According to the rhythmic collect *Post Laudate Dominum de caelis* (*AH*, LI, 289, no. 221), the three psalms, 148–50, are prayed at the end of the Office of Lauds, as in all of the Greek (the *aivoi*) and Latin churches. The opening of Psalm 148 occurs in the Turin antiphoner fragment, which was written at Bobbio at the beginning of the eighth century.[29]

The Antiphons of the Psalter

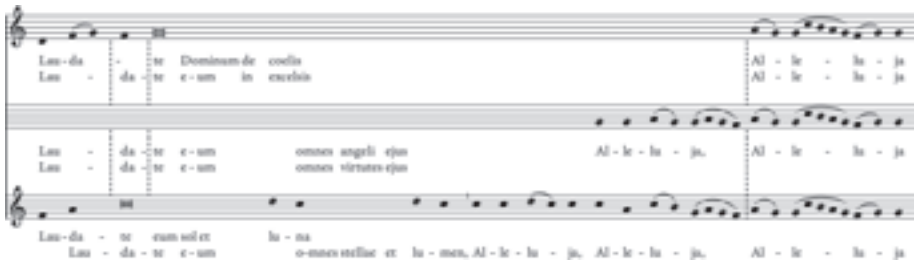
The term *antiphona* (*antefana*) *psalmorum* gives us to understand that an antiphonary (without music notation) was used in Columbanian monasteries for the antiphons of the *Psalterium per hebdomadam*, analogous to those of Rome, Milan, or the large metropolises in Gaul. Indeed, the Antiphonary of Bangor indicates use of the antiphon *De caelis Dominum laudate* in three assonanced sections (9+11+10) to frame the three Lauds psalms (Pss 148–50), and not a short antiphon such as the *Laudate Dominum de caelis*, cited by medieval theorists.[30] This elaborate prayer, to be recited following the psalmody, is addressed to Christ, following the practice of Gallican sacramentaries, and not to God the Father through the mediation of Jesus Christ, as in Roman usage.

Since the incipit of each of the three psalms at the conclusion of Lauds is *Alleluia*, it is possible that at Bangor these three psalms were sung to several repetitions of the antiphon. In Old Gallican chant, it was understood that the chant for Lauds during Eastertide would be accompanied by a repetition of the *Alleluia* antiphon following each verse: once after verses 1, 4, 7; twice after verses 2, 5, 8; and finally, three times after verses 3, 6, 9: that is the *alleluiaticum*, described by Aurelian of Réôme between 859 and 861.[31] This Gallican piece

[29] See note 23 for details.

[30] *Musica enchiriadis*, ed. by Hans Schmid (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), ch. 8, p. 16; John Cotton, ch. 23. See Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum: Ex variis italiae, Galliae & Germaniae codicibus manuscriptis collecti et nunc primum pablica luce donati*, 3 vols (St Blasien, 1784; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1990), II, 264 B; also *Johannes Afflighemensis: De musica cum tonario*, ed. by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, CSM, 1 (Roma: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), p. 76.

[31] Aurelianus Reomensis, *Musica Disciplina*, ed. by Lawrence Gushee, CSM, 21 (Roma: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), p. xx, p. 133. The dating of Aurelian is discussed and justified by Barbara Haggh, '"Musica Disciplina" Aureliana Reomensis: Proweniencja i datowenje', *Muzyka*, 45 (2000), 25–77 (with English Abstract, pp. 78–79).



Music Example 1.1. The *alleluiaticum* (Pss 148–50).

survives in the antiphonaries of Rouen and of some Anglo-Norman monasteries which used that chant for the ceremony of the 'Farewell to the Alleluia' on Septuagesima Sunday (Music Example 1.1). The Office of Lauds ended with the chant of the Canticle of Zachary, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, copied after the Canticle of the Exodus (*Cantemus Domino*) at the beginning of the Antiphonary of Bangor (fols 6^{v} and 10^{r}).

A second prayer in the same style as the preceding one is assigned a place after the psalm of the biblical canticles of Wednesday (*Cantemus*) and Sunday (*Benedicite*).[32] A series of rhythmical antiphons is transcribed alternately for each of these canticles, but not for the five others of the Roman series adopted in Ireland. The text of the antiphon of the Three Children, *Sancti et humiles corde*, and that of the antiphon *Dominus conterens bella* (taken not from the Canticle but from the book of Judith, 16. 3), are identical to the equivalent texts of the Ambrosian antiphoner:[33] obviously we do not known if the chant of these two antiphons, *Ad cantica*, was sung to the same melody as at Milan.

A special antiphon is assigned to Psalm 89 (*Domine refugium factus es nobis*) for the first hour of Christmas Day (*Ad secundam*), the antiphon *Ab hodierna die*, which — without making the least reference to the Birth of Christ — only expressed the joy of the monks at the diminution of the hours of darkness

[32] Both of these canticles appear in tandem in the fragments of the antiphoner from Bobbio (beginning of the eighth century) in Turin cited above, note 23. On the text of the Canticle *Benedicite*, see Philippe Bernard, 'Le Cantique des Trois enfants (Dan. III, 52–90): Les répertoires liturgiques occidentaux dans l'Antiquité tardive et le Haut-Moyen-Age', *Musica e storia*, 1 (1993), 231–72. (Bernard is mainly concerned with the Canticle of Daniel for the Easter Vigil, but very little with the Canticle of Lauds, Dan. 3. 57–88, 56.)

[33] Terence Bailey and Paul Merkley, *The Melodic Tradition of the Ambrosian Office Antiphons* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), p. 419 no. 191, p. 487 no. 417. The text of Judith 16. 3 is used again in an extended version in a 'Gregorian' antiphon (*CAO*, III, 2401), found uniquely in the Antiphoner of Ivrea.

following the Winter solstice and the beginning of the increasing light each day. Might this indicate a remote memory of the cult of the Sun in Nordic countries, where the first day of the week is the day of the Sun God (Sunday / Sonntag / Söndag)?

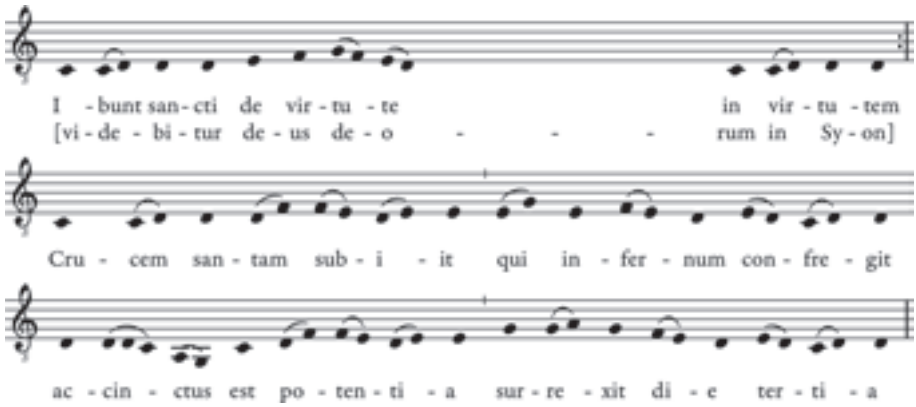
Four other antiphons are used with the same Psalm 89:[34] the first, for Sunday (*Ad secundam*?): A/ *Convertere Domine usquequo* (Ps. 89. 13); the second (*Item alia*) *Respice in servos tuos et in opera tua, Domine* (Ps. 89. 16); the third (*Item alia*) *Repleti sumus mane misericordia tua* (Ps. 89. 14); finally, the fourth, to be recited each day (*Alia cotidiana*) *Sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super nos* (Ps. 89. 17). The second and fourth antiphons, alternated without melody between the hebdomadary and the community, continue to exist up to today in Benedictine monasteries for the Office of Prime in the chapter: these two pieces are used for blessing the work which the monks must accomplish during the day. At Bangor as on the Continent, these sung or recited verses are assigned to the first Office of the day.

Before turning to the Communion antiphons in the Antiphonary of Bangor, it is necessary to take a detour in order to discuss two Irish antiphons discovered by Bruno Stäblein. In 1973, he published the melody of the double antiphon, *Ibunt sancti de virtute in virtutem. Videbitur Deus deorum in Syon* (Ps. 83. 8), which Theodoaldus, disciple of St Colombanus at Bobbio, sang at his master's deathbed.[35] This piece, mentioned between 639 and 642 by Jonas, the biographer of St Columbanus (and of St Jean de Réôme), is found in a noted breviary from Bayeux used at the collegiate Church of Saint-Sépulcre of Caen:[36] its very

[34] In the three monastic *cursus* of East and West, Psalm 89 is used for the Sunday Office of Lauds (Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements', p. 109, table 5.4).

[35] Bruno Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien der altirischen Liturgie', in *Musicae Scientiae Collectanea: Festschrift für Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Heinrich Hüschen (Köln: Arno Volk, 1973), pp. 590–97; Bruno Stäblein, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, III: *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1975), pp. 17–18, has reproduced these three melodies published in the Fellerer *Festschrift*. Ann Buckley kindly informs me that in the *Vita Prima* of St Fursey (*BHL* 3209), *Videbitur Deus deorum in Sion* is quoted in the account of the saint's vision. On its second appearance it is termed *versiculo*: '*Cantabant quidem medio versiculo*', because the vision is described in the second half-verse of Ps. 83. 8. Compare the similar situation of Bede, on Thursday 26 May 735, Feast of the Ascension, the day of his death, singing the antiphon *O rex gloriae Domine virtutum*, from the day Office. The melody was undoubtedly that of the Old Roman chant introduced into Canterbury by Augustine, and not the 'Gregorian' melody notated in the English manuscripts of the *Historia ecclesiastica* which report the event.

[36] Madeleine Bernard, *Répertoire de manuscrits médiévaux contenant des notations musicales*, III: *Bibliothèques parisiennes: Arsenal* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1974), pp. 54–55, pl. XLV.



Music Example 1.2. Old Irish Antiphons.

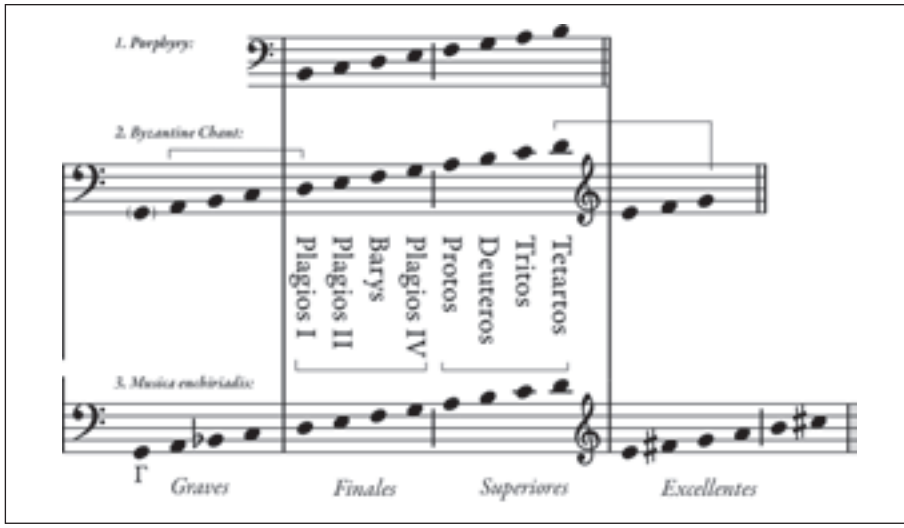
simple melody (Music Example 1.2) comprises three elements — well balanced by virtue of the addition of the word *sancti* to the text of Psalm 83. 8. The half-cadences and the final cadence are on D: it is probably from an antiphon of the *Psalterium per hebdomadam* and is easy to memorize.

The second antiphon, described as 'Irish' by Bruno Stäblein, is addressed to the Cross. *Crucem sanctam subiit*, found in the oldest antiphoners,[37] which takes the same melody as the preceding antiphon, but with a descent to **Γ** [=gamma], the lowest pitch of the lowest tetrachord, at the final, on the word *accinctus*. Particularly worthy of mention is the short melisma on the syllable *-le-* of the final *alleluia*, as in other antiphons to the Cross which are more certainly of Gallican origin.[38] The antiphon *Crucem sanctam subiit*, composed like many others in *protus*, the most common tone for chant prior to the Carolingian Renaissance,[39] was probably composed at the time of the translation of a relic of the Holy Cross sent to Poitiers in 567–68 by the Emperor Justinian. It was, for Venantius Fortunatus, the occasion for the composition of the hymns *Pange lingua* and *Vexilla regis*, both sung in *protus*. The Gallican origin of the antiphon *Crucem sanctam subiit* implies that the Irish antiphons composed to the same melodic pattern are indeed Gallican in origin.

[37] *CAO*, III, 1951.

[38] For example, the antiphon *O crux benedicta* (*CAO*, III, 4016), which uses the *pes stratus* at the half-cadence of the long final *alleluia*: this neume is in fact the 'signature' of Gallican pieces, such as e.g. the Offertory, *Elegerunt* for 26 December.

[39] See Matthieu Smyth, 'Répertoire romano-franc et chant "gallican" dans la recherche contemporaine', *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalane*, 10 (2001), 21–23 ('Le mode archaïque de RÉ').



Music Example 1.3. The Scales of Late Antiquity.

With regard to Psalm 83, which provided the text for the antiphon, *Ibunt sancti*, and for the Canticle of Habakkuk referred to above, there arises the question of the *diapsalma*, which indicates a pause in the middle of each of some sixty psalms, because this indication had consequences for their recitation, as St Hilary describes in his *Instructio psalmorum*:

> The *diapsalma* inserted into several psalms is intended to indicate the beginning of a change of person or of sense, through a change in the musical mode (*modi musici*): of the kind that if a *diapsalma* is introduced somewhere, it must be understood that something else is expressed, or even that it is provided by someone else, or in fact that one must sing in another mode of music theory (*in altero artis musicae modulo*). Also, there where we note the mention of *diapsalma*, we try to direct our attention to a change of person or of sense, since in any case the Greek and Latin translations [of the psalms] cannot maintain the system of the musical mode [of Hebrew poetry].[40]

It is clearly difficult to determine what Hilary means by the terms *ars musica* and *modus musicus*. One must nonetheless admit that this erudite author, who had spent five years with the Cappadocians, would certainly have known the Greek music system of the fourth century. He could very well have known what he calls *alter artis musicae modulus* defined in the *Mousiké* of Aristides

[40] S. Hilarii, *Tractatus super psalmos*, ed. by Zingerle, p. 18 (*Instructio psalmorum*, ch. 23).

Quintilianus in these terms: 'Modulation (*metabolé*) is the alteration of the underlying scale and of the character of the sound'.[41] On the other hand, the system of two tetrachords at the centre of the scale in both Byzantine and Latin chant (Music Example 1.3) had already been established by Porphyry (d. 301) in his lost commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, a work which we know nonetheless through Macrobius in his 'Commentaries on the Dream of Scipio' on the one hand, and secondarily through the interpolation of the *Musica Isidori* in the eighth century:[42] this reduced system (D–G/a–d) corresponds to the ambitus of the antiphons of the *Psalterium per hebdomadam* of the Latin liturgical repertories of the fourth century.

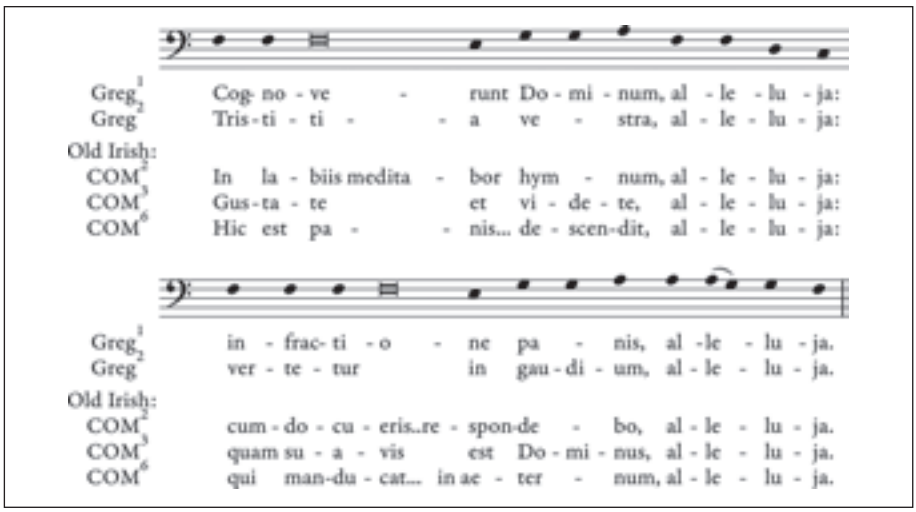
The Communion Antiphons

The seven Communion antiphons of the Antiphonary of Bangor follow the Office antiphons exactly as in the antiphonaries of the Ambrosian Rite of Milan and of the old Hispanic Rite. The first antiphon, *Corpus Domini accepimus*, is translated from Greek, and because of this it is found in the region of Ravenna, at Forlimpopoli and in the three tropers of Nonantola, with slight textual variants (e.g., '*Corpus* Christi *accepimus [...] potavimus*'); finally, it also appears in the series of *transitoria* of the Ambrosian antiphoner with a melody which comprises numerous repetitions of the same melismas.[43]

[41] *Aristidis Quintiliani De musica libri tres*, ed. by R. P. Winnington-Ingram (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963), Book I.11; *Aristides Quintilianus, On Music, in Three Books*, trans. by Thomas Mathiesen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 88.

[42] The lost commentary by Porphyry on Plato's *Timaeus* has been reconstructed from the explicit citations of Macrobius, *Porphyrii in Platonis Timaeum Commentariorum fragmenta*, ed. by Angelo Raffaele Sodano (Napoli: [n.pub.], 1964). The diagrams have come down to us through the music treatise interpolated in the Visigothic manuscripts of the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville; see Michel Huglo, 'The *Musica Isidori* Tradition in the Iberian Peninsula', in *Hispania vetus. Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts: From Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (10–12 Centuries)*, ed. by Susana Zapke (Madrid: BBVA Foundation, 2008), pp. 61–92.

[43] The melody of Ambrosian chant is edited by Terence Bailey, *The Transitoria of the Ambrosian Mass Edited from Three Sources* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2002), p. 12. The list of Italian sources is provided in Michel Huglo and others, *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano*, Archivio ambrosiano, 7 (Milano: Revista *Ambrosius*, 1956). And the question of the relationship between these three sources is discussed in Terence Bailey, *The Transitoria of the Ambrosian Mass: Compositional Process in Ecclesiastical Chant* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003), pp. 50–52.



Music Example 1.4. Communion Antiphons.

The following Communions, with the exception of the fourth (*Hoc sacrum corpus*) and the seventh (*Refecti Christi corpore*),[44] are taken from the psalms, notably the third, *Gustate et videte* (Ps. 33. 9), which has the same incipit as the communion of the Old Roman and Gregorian chant, but which inserts an *alleluia* at the mediant and at the end of the verse. There is a similar addition of the *alleluia* at the cadences in the second and sixth Communion antiphons which enables us to recover from the Gregorian repertory the common melody type used in these alleluiatic antiphons. It concerns the following antiphons of the sixth tone attested — apart from the fifth — in the Antiphonary of Compiègne (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 17436, written before 877):

Cognoverunt Dominum, alleluia	*CAO*, III	1848	**CGBEV HRFL**
Ego sum vitis vera, alleluia	—	2605	**C**
Euntes in mundum, alleluia	—	2737	**CGV HRL**
Pax vobis ego sum, alleluia	—	4254	**CGB HRL**
Tristitia vestra, alleluia	—	5190	**BEV HRL**

This type of melodic pattern (Music Example 1.4) can be adapted easily to texts of the same metre.

[44] This genre of Communion antiphons, of which the texts are not drawn from Scripture, is found in several north-Italian manuscripts: cf. Michel Huglo, 'Antifone antiche per la "Fractio panis"', *Ambrosius*, 31 (1955), 85–95.

It is therefore probable that the three alleluiatic Communion antiphons of the Antiphonary of Bangor, in spite of the slightly greater length of their texts, were sung to the same melody as these five antiphons listed above, which are transmitted in French manuscripts. In the same manuscripts an analogous category of antiphons in the fifth tone occurs with four alleluias (at the reciting tone, the mediant, and two at the final), for example, *Alleluia. Noli flere Maria, alleluia. Resurrexit Dominus, alleluia, alleluia*. This latter category of alleluiatic antiphons is found in fragments of a Gallican antiphonary for the feast of the Epiphany written in Irish script of the eighth century.[45] Here one sees again the diffuse connections between Irish and Gallican chant.

The Gloria in excelsis Deo *and the* Te Deum

The oldest witness to these ancient prose hymns is the Antiphonary of Bangor. In a study of these vestiges of early liturgical chant from Ireland, it is necessary here to investigate the origin — if not the author — of these two compositions, and then, after a brief analysis of the texts, to proceed to an examination of the melodies.

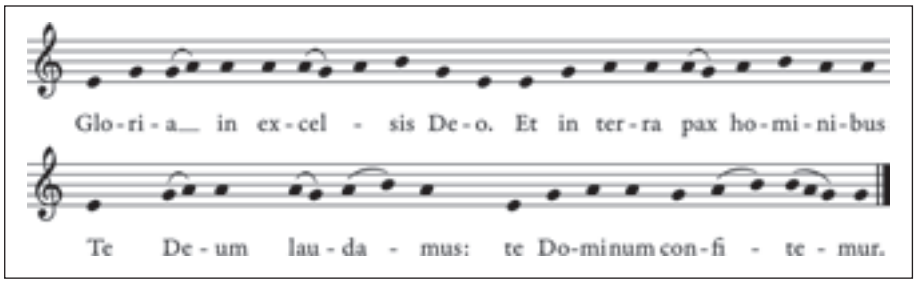
The *Gloria in excelsis Deo* is without contest the oldest hymn in Christianity.[46] If it does not go back to the beginnings of Christianity itself, its Greek text is transcribed at the end of the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the Bible (fifth century); the Latin version in the Antiphonary of Bangor (fol. 33^{r}) was copied, according to Klaus Gamber, from a Gallican exemplar.[47] The second witness to the text of the *Gloria in excelsis* is Ambrosian chant: even if the text and the melody of the *Gloria in excelsis* were copied only in manuscripts of the twelfth century,[48] the *capitella* added to the received text, with their references to the Arians and barbarians, date the piece to the fifth century at the latest. Unlike the case of Milan, the 'angelic hymn' was sung not only at the morning Office but also

[45] Dom Germain Morin, 'Fragments inédits et jusqu'à présent uniques, d'antiphonaire gallican', *Revue Bénédictine*, 22 (1905), 329–56 (p. 344). The melody of the antiphon, *Alleluia, Noli flere* (*CAO*, III, 1348) is found in the *Processionale monasticum* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1893), p. 67.

[46] To the bibliography of *CLLA*, I.1, 63, no. 041, should be added the facsimile and critical edition of F. E. Warren in the series of the Henry Bradshaw Society (*AB*), and also *Paléographie Musicale*, V, 17 and VI, 316–19.

[47] *CLLA*, I.1, 64: Gamber surmises that the Latin version is attributed to St Hilary of Poitiers, but without explaining his reasons.

[48] *Paléographie Musicale*, VI: *Antiphonaire ambrosien du British Museum, Add. MS 34209 (XIIe siècle)*. The text of this manuscript was collated *AB*, II, 76.



Music Example 1.5. Melody of the *Te Deum*.

at Vespers. Its Ambrosian melody is in the same mode as that of the *Te Deum* (Music Example 1.5), but is distinguished by a long melisma at the end of each verse. In the *Liber dominicalis totius anni* from San Stefano in Brolio, Milan, a rubric indicates that the *Gloria in excelsis* should be sung 'ad Matutinum in submissa [MS, *sublimi*] voce usque ad Jesus Christe', these last two words with the rubric *Alta voce*.[49]

The history of the text of the *Te Deum* is more complex. Whoever the author may be,[50] the most important question is rather that of its origin. In the opinion of Dom Paul Cagin,[51] the text of the hymn is written in the emphatic style of the *Illatio*, the Eucharistic prayer of the Old Gallican Rite, interrupted by the triple *Sanctus*. In fact there is no interruption since, in the cantillation of the Preface according to both the Drummond Missal and the Milanese Rite, the *Sanctus*, chanted by the priest and not the choir, is notated to the same recitative as the Preface.[52] If therefore the *Te Deum* is an old Gallican preface which went out of use, one can conclude that the triple *Sanctus* was sung also after the same recitative as that of the preceding and following verses.

[49] Concerning this rubric, see the discussion on Magistretti in Huglo and others, *Fonti*, p. 74, no. 132.

[50] See *CLLA*, 1.1, 113, no. 083. Dekkers, *Clavis patrum latinorum*, p. 229, no. 650, classifies the *Te Deum* among the doubtful works of Nicetas de Remesiana (d. post-414): this attribution is given in ten Irish manuscripts.

[51] Dom Paul Cagin, '*Te Deum' ou 'illatio'? Contribution à l'histoire de l'euchologie latine* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1906), pp. 10–12.

[52] Sara Gibbs Casey, '"Through a Glass Darkly": Steps towards Reconstructing Irish Chant from the Neumes of the Drummond Missal', *Early Music*, 28.2 (2000), 205–15. On the Ambrosian Rite, see Huglo and others, *Fonti*, p. 109 (with reference to the *Ordo Missae ambrosianae* in Paris, MS Arsenal 221). Charlemagne stipulated the singing of the *Sanctus* by the faithful.

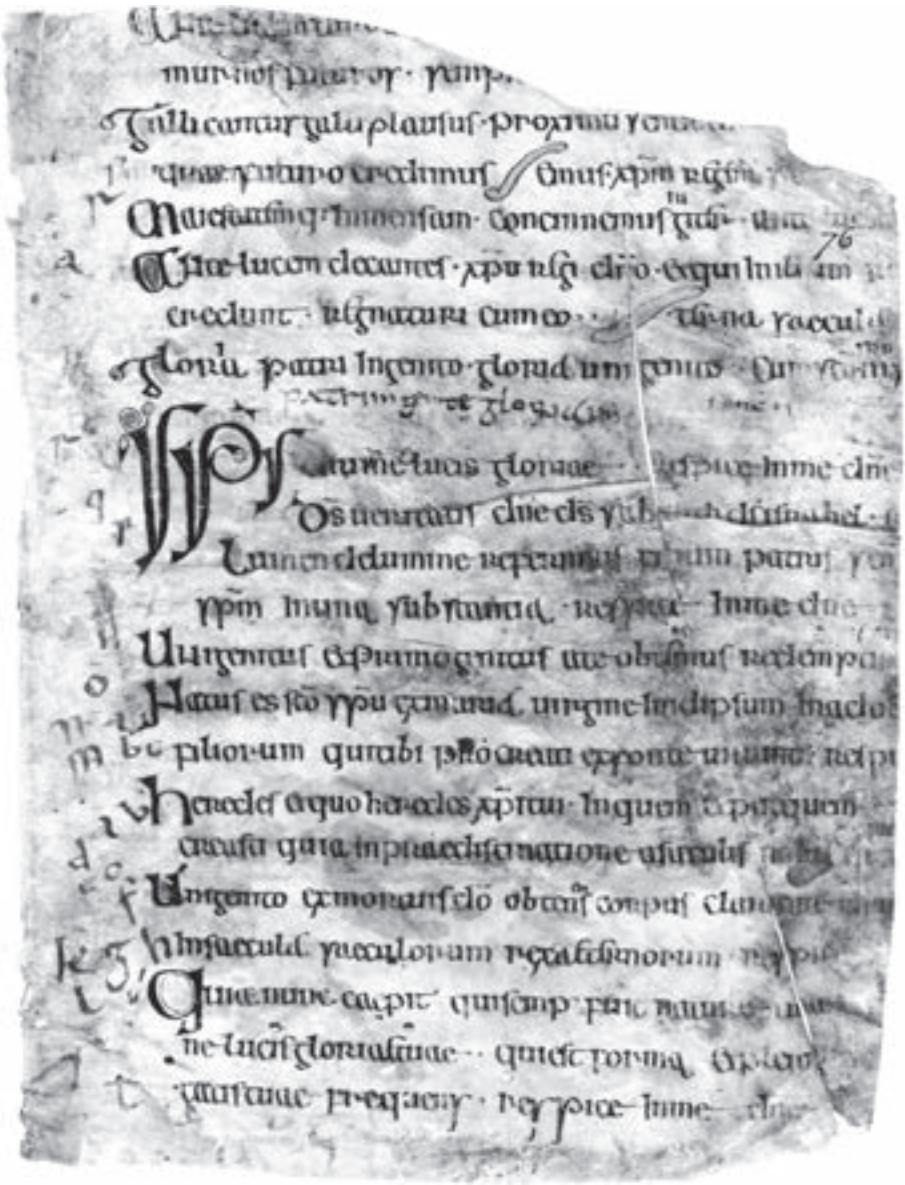


Figure 1.1. The Irish Hymn *Spiritus lumen lucis gloriae* from Echternach.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 9488, fol. 76r (end of eighth century).
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, reproduced with permission.

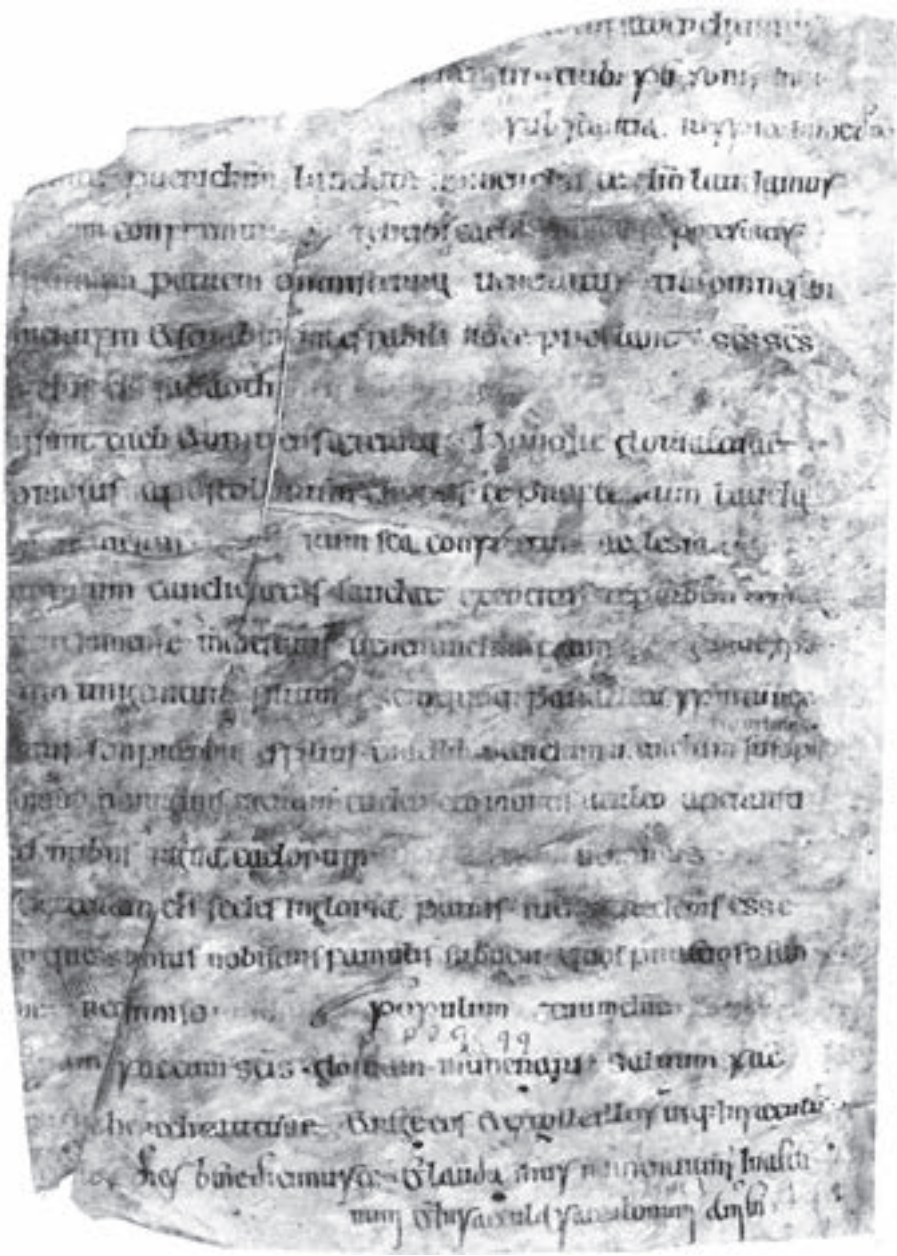
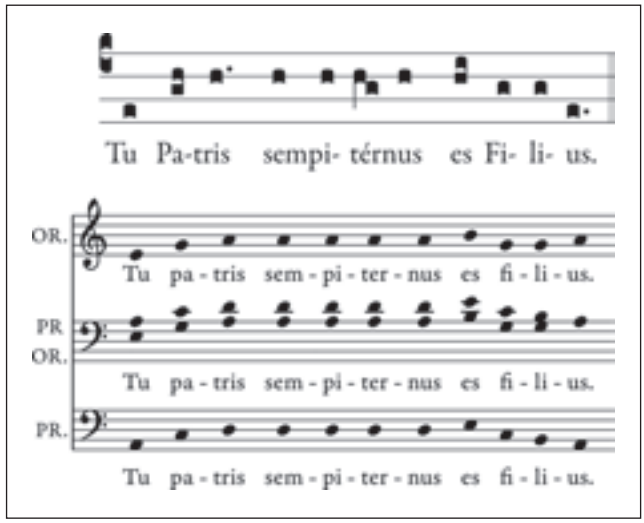


Figure 1.2. The *Te Deum* from Echternach. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 9488, fol. 76^{v} (end of eighth century).
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, reproduced with permission.



Music Example 1.6. 'Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius', from the *Te Deum*, set as *organum duplum* in the *Musica enchiriadis*. Note that OR stands for 'organum' and PR for 'principal voice'.

The text of the Irish *Te Deum* was transmitted by the Antiphonary of Bangor (fol. 10^{r}), by two Irish hymnals, by a fragment from Echternach in Irish script from the end of the eighth century, after the two hymns, *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*, attributed to St Hilary of Poitiers (not shown here), and *Spiritus lumen lucis gloriae* (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2),[53] and finally, by the fragmentary Antiphonary of Turin, after the same two hymns.[54] The Irish *Te Deum* is directly preceded by a type of invitatory derived from Psalm 112 (*Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini*); it is followed, as is the Milanese *Te Deum*, by some psalm verses[55] and a verse from the canticle of Daniel: these are

[53] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 9488 (*CLA*, v, 583), fol. 76^{r} ('Spiritus lumen lucis gloriae', also in the Antiphonary of Bangor, fol. 13^{r}, but there with the variant 'divinae'), and BnF, MS lat. 9488, fol. 76^{v} ('[...] ate pueri dni' [... (line 4):] 'te dm laudamus' [...]). 'Hymnum dicat turba fratrum' is found on fol. 75$^{r–v}$. Cf. Michel Huglo, 'Les fragments d'Echternach (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 9488)', in *Willibrord, Apostel der Niederlande, Gründer der Abtei Echternach*, ed. by Georges Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (Luxembourg: Editions Saint Paul, 1989), pp. 144–49; repr. Huglo, *Les sources du plain-chant*, Art. XVI. I ought to have indicated there that the *Te Deum* in BnF, MS lat. 9488 was published by Maurice Frost, 'Two Texts of the *Te Deum laudamus*', *JTS*, 39 (1938), 388–91 (p. 391).

[54] See note 23 above; for a comparison of the contents of the two fragments, see Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements', p. 121, table 5.7.

[55] Maurice Frost, 'Notes on the *Te Deum*: The Final Verses', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 34 (1933), 250–56; Maurice Frost, 'The *Te Deum*: The Milan Text', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 43 (1942), 192–94.

no longer present in the medieval Continental *Te Deum*. At Milan, these supplementary verses were sung to the same melody as the preceding ones.

The recitative of the *Te Deum* is related to psalmody embellished by the *Deuterus*, but sometimes taking the recitation tone of the fourth tone and at other times, briefly, that of the final of the mode (at v/ 21).[56] The reconstituted melody in the *Antiphonale monasticum* of 1934 has its oldest witness in the treatise the *Musica enchiriadis*, written at the end of the ninth century by Hoger, Abbot of Werden, on the Ruhr, a Continental Irish centre.[57] On several occasions the author cites as an example the line 'Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius', from the *Te Deum* (sung every Sunday at Bangor and in Columbanian monasteries up to the eighth century), in order to illustrate the theory of parallel organum at the fourth or fifth and (in Chapter XIV) that of an *organum duplum* (Music Example 1.6) — easy to sing by a choir of men (tenors and basses) and *pueri oblati* (sopranos).

Was this organum, taken from a chant performed every Sunday, chosen to explain the manner of singing heterophony of the future? Might it not rather be an example taken from a very old practice well known from Europe to the Caucasus,[58] emanating spontaneously from a group of singers accustomed to singing together day and night? In the absence of direct evidence from Ireland, the *Enchiriadis* treatise is an indirect witness to heterophony in Columbanian monasteries.

[56] Cf. Janka Szendrei, '"Altius canuntur"? Durandus on the Performance of the *Te Deum*', in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honor of David Hiley*, ed. by Terence Bailey and László Dobszay, Musicological Studies, 87 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), pp. 413–24.

[57] Dieter Torkewitz, *Das älteste Dokument zur Entstehung der abendländischen Mehrstimmigkeit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999). Nancy Phillips ('Review of Torkewitz, *Das älteste Dokument*', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 9 (2000), 77–80) limits the authorship of Hoger to the *Musica*. One of the arguments in favour of an insular milieu for the *Commemoratio brevis de psalmi* is the final distich, *Mira vides lector* (*Musica enchiriadis*, ed. by Schmid, p. 178), in imitation of the *Disticha Catonis*, a work much favoured by St Columbanus; cf. *Minor Latin Poets*, trans. by J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935; rev. 1998), II, 586. On the hymn, 'Rex caeli Domine', mentioned several times in the *Musica*, see Michel Huglo and Nancy Phillips, 'The Versus *Rex caeli* — Another Look at the So-called Archaic Sequence', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, 5 (1982), 36–43.

[58] Michel Huglo, 'L'Organum à Landévennec au IXe siècle', *Études Celtiques*, 23 (1986), 187–92, and 'L'Origine de l'organum vocal', in *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa: Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 agosto 1980*, ed. by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Roma: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 355–65 (both articles reproduced in Huglo, *Chant grégorien*, Articles XV and XVI).

Ab hodierna die nox minuitur (*Super Ps 89, die 25/XII ad Secundam*)
Benedicamus Deum Patrem et Filium (*Ad CC* Benedicite)
Convertere Domine usquequo (*In dominicorum die* (Ps. 89. 13))
Corpus Domini accepimus et sanguinem ejus (*Com* 1)
Crucem sanctam subiit qui infernum confregit (+)

De caelis Dominum laudate (Ps. 148. 1)
Dextram laevamque Moyses (*Ad CC* Cantemus)
Dominus conterens bella (*Ad CC* Cantemus (Judith 16. 3))
Educti ex Aegypto patres nostri (*Ad CC* Cantemus)
Filii Haebreorum penetraverunt (*Ad CC* Cantemus)
Fornacis flammas pueri contempserunt (*Ad CC* Benedicite)

Gloriosus in sanctis, mirabilis in majestatibus (*Ad CC* Cantemus)
Gustate et videte, alleluia, quam suavis (*Com* 3 (Ps. 33. 9))
Hic est panis vivus qui de caelo descendit (*Com* 6 (Jo. 6. 33, 40))
Hoc sacrum corpus Domini et Salvatoris (*Com* 4)

Ibunt sancti de virtute in virtutem* Videbitur (+ (Ps. 83. 8))
In invocatione sanctorum martyrum (*De martyribus*)
In labiis meis meditabor hymnum, alleluja (*Com* 2 (Ps. 118. 171))
Pharao demersus est (*Ad CC* Cantemus)
Post ignes et laminas, cruces (*De martyribus*)

Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua (*Com* 5 (Ps. 118. 103))
Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine (*Com* 7)
Repleti sumus mane misericordia tua (*Item alia* (Ps. 89. 14))
Respice in servos tuos et in opera (*Item alia* (Ps. 89. 16))

Sancti et humiles corde (*Ad CC* Benedicite)
Sit splendor Domini Dei nostri (*Alia cotidiana* (Ps. 89. 17))
Tres pueri in camino ignis missi sunt (*Ad CC* Benedicite (Dan. 3. 20))
Tres pueri te orabant de medio ignis (*Ad CC* Benedicite)
Videbitur Deus deorum in Syon (+ (Ps. 83. 8))

Ad CC = Ad Cantica. *Com* = Ad communionem.
+ = Irish antiphons, transcribed by Dr Stäblein in *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, III.4 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1975), pp. 17–18.

Figure 1.3. Antiphons from the Antiphonary of Bangor.

It may be concluded from this enquiry that Old Gallican chant was the primary source for early Irish chant, unlike Milan which drew on this same source only indirectly, rearranging its borrowings in order to make them conform to its own particular style. Further, insofar as one can ascertain this conclusion from a very limited pool of evidence, early Irish chant must have had its own particular repertoire which the surviving witnesses enable us to reach in part. Given that the Antiphonary of Bangor ended its career at Bobbio and that these old liturgical offices were copied there, as well as at Echternach, until the end of the eighth century, it is logically correct to presume that snatches of that Irish repertory could have been recopied into some Italian manuscripts.

A more in-depth enquiry into this repertory and these notated manuscripts from northern Italy has been made possible today through the *Cantus* project which has already extracted materials from more than one hundred antiphonaries, and above all through the catalogue of Leandra Scappatici.[59] To that end, all of the chants in the Antiphonary of Bobbio, and those which Bruno Stäblein discovered, have been collated for the sake of convenience in Figure 1.3.

The future will reveal to us if this suggested research leads even to a modest result, or if it is blocked by a negative conclusion as a result of the abolition of the Gallican repertories by Pippin and his son Charlemagne.[60]

[59] Leandra Scappatici, *Codici e Liturgia a Bobbio* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2007).

[60] My thanks to Dom Jean Mallet † (Solesmes) for the patristic sources, and to Ann Buckley for the publications with which she provided me (see notes 6 and 21) and for checking the Index of Irish antiphons (Figure 1.3). Lastly, I am indebted to Barbara Haggh for bibliographical research, as also for editing the final draft of this article.

Issues of Time and Place

Proper Offices for Saints and the *Historia*: Their History and Historiography, and the Case of the *Historia* for St Livinus

Barbara Haggh-Huglo

Chanted Offices for Saints

Just as art and architecture in medieval Europe memorialized saintly intercessors, from early martyrs to beloved patrons to the Virgin Mary, by recalling their lives in stone and on panels, so did the medieval clergy sing the lives of holy men and women during the services of the Office — at Vespers, Matins, and Lauds. Although the historiography of the Middle Ages is often claimed to begin with the Bollandists' editions of the lives of the saints in *Acta sanctorum*,[1] and philologists and musicologists have studied and edited saints' offices for more than a century,[2] their chant has found little, if any, place in conventional narratives of music history,[3] which instead present tropes, sequences, and liturgical drama as characteristic examples of medieval monophonic composition, with chant ceding its place to polyphony already by 1200. The hundreds of saints' offices, which give witness to an evolving understanding of melodic composition and notation in the main genres of the chant repertory, the antiphons and responsories, and throughout the Middle Ages, deserve better con-

[1] *AASS*.

[2] See bibliography in Ritva Jacobsson and Andreas Haug, 'Versified Offices', at *Grove online*.

[3] But see David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 121–27.

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sideration. In what follows, we consider some problems that have affected the historiography of the genre of the proper offices for saints, using Continental examples, and suggest that examination of the music of these offices should also be accompanied by closer study of their historical contexts and, as a consequence, of their transmission, where appropriate.[4] Our case study of the *historia* of Livinus provides an example of the kind of succinct musical analysis that would help us to know more about saints' offices were more such analyses available, and also considers two kinds of transmission that we find throughout this book, that of the Irish saint to many locations and seen to bring prestige thereby,[5] and that of the chant for Irish saints travelling over great distances and then adapted to the local musical practice.[6]

Some Historiographical Problems

Terminology

Saints' offices are complex works including dozens of chants and numerous readings and prayers. Many were called *historiae* in the Middle Ages because their lessons and chant told the story of the saint's life, conversion to Christianity, martyrdom or death, and influence, often by adapting texts from the *Vita* and Miracles of the saint.[7] These texts and the genre of the *historia* were preceded in history by the recitation, first at Mass and only later during Matins, of the Passion of the saint being venerated.[8] Other hagiography, such as descriptions of the translations or inventions of saints' relics, also provided texts for *historia*

[4] Some offices, such as that for St Dympna, were sung only in the location where they were composed. See Pieter Mannaerts's study in this volume.

[5] See the contributions by Jean-Michel Picard, Bernhard Hangartner, Mannaerts, and Ann Buckley in this volume.

[6] See the chapter by Sara G. Casey in this volume.

[7] The Irish Office of St Patrick studied in this volume by Senan Furlong fits this criterium, but Buckley, in her chapter in this volume, explains that no proper saints' offices existed in Ireland before the twelfth century. Saints' *vitae* are published in *AASS*, the periodical *ABoll.*, and in other specialist periodicals. A useful index to them is *BHL*.

[8] A. G. Martimort briefly traces the history of such recitation from the evidence of lectionaries and breviaries in *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 97–205. See also Wolfgang Kirsch, *Laudes sanctorum: Geschichte der hagiographischen Versepik vom IV. bis X. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2004).

chant.[9] Most chant in *historiae* paraphrases or excerpts the borrowed material, but hymns and the antiphons for the canticles (i.e. Magnificat and Benedictus) are normally new texts that praise the saint, providing variety from the *vita* and reinforcement of the Office's devotional intent.

Modern scholars have assigned a range of terms to saints' offices, and even the many in use at present do not cover the diversity of their construction or historical contexts. The term '*historia*' is medieval, but in the twentieth century, 'rhymed' or 'versified' offices were singled out, because those terms seemed best to characterize the enormous repertory of texts edited in *Analecta Hymnica*.[10] More recently, the term 'numerical' Office has gained currency, which refers to offices with antiphons and responsories taking psalm or verse tones in ascending numerical order. Often numerical offices are also rhymed or versified. *Grove Music Online* limits the treatment of saints' offices to 'Versified offices', which masks the fact that earlier medieval offices were often in prose, because most texts in the Bible were in prose. Poetry eventually became suspicious, a marker of new composition that could be a vehicle for questionable theology: the Council of Trent removed rhymed offices, like sequences, from the liturgy.[11] The earlier prose offices are currently the least studied of all, perhaps because their universality dooms to failure any attempt to edit them by criteria that do not seem arbitrary.

Periodization

Andrew Hughes and Jean-François Goudesenne have presented histories of saints' offices, offering complementary chronologies. Hughes groups them into Carolingian and Romanesque offices, twelfth- and thirteenth-century offices, and later rhymed offices, recognizing the offices of the religious orders as a separate category.[12] Jean-François Goudesenne, among the offices of

[9] Also repertoried in *BHL*. See, in addition, Martin Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979).

[10] *AH*.

[11] Jacobsson and Haug, 'Versified Offices'. The separate treatment of rhymed offices can be traced back to the editions of text in *AH*.

[12] Andrew Hughes, 'Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office', in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, The New Oxford History of Music, 3.1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 31–96. The religious orders often had their own repertory of offices. See, for example, the studies of Car-

the ecclesiastical province of Reims, identifies a basilical Carolingian Office (750–840), which he separates from the late Carolingian Office (850–950), the 'Hucbaldian' Office, and offices of *c*. 1000.[13]

Additional stages are useful, however. After 1400, saints' offices are increasingly created using processes of compilation, borrowing, or contrafacting.[14] Should these be called 'modelled' saints' offices? And after the Council of Trent, new saints' offices continued to be composed, but they were no longer *historiae*, since the old *vitae* in the lessons had to be removed. Instead, they are conservative but often original compilations of old, familiar, and acceptable 'Gregorian' chant melodies.[15] Should we consider these to be 'compiled' offices?

Furthermore, it would be helpful to impose on the terms, categorizations, and chronological periods given above a more refined history of typical and

melite offices by James Boyce, 'Rhymed Offices in the Krakow Carmelite Liturgy', in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group 'Cantus Planus', Lillafüred/Hungary, 2004, Aug. 23–28*, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Institute for Musicology, 2006), pp. 767–802; James Boyce, 'The Carmelite Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin: A Study in Musical Adaptation', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 485–518; James Boyce, 'The Feasts of Saints Elijah and Elisha in the Carmelite Rite: A Liturgico-Musical Study', in *Master of the Sacred Page: Essays and Articles in Honor of Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm., on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. by Keith J. Egan, Craig E. Morrison, and Michael J. Wastag (Washington, DC: The Carmelite Institute, 1997), pp. 155–88; James Boyce, 'The Office of the Three Marys in the Carmelite Liturgy', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, 12 (1989), 1–38; and James Boyce, 'The Office of St Mary of Salome', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, 11 (1988), 25–47.

[13] Jean-François Goudesenne, *Les Offices historiques ou historiae composés pour les fêtes des saints dans la province écclesiastique de Reims, 775–1030* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); Jean-François Goudesenne, 'A Typology of *historiae* in West Francia, 8–10 c.', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 13 (2004), 1–31.

[14] There is some discussion of this in Hughes, 'Late Medieval Plainchant', pp. 43–44 and 75. On the Office for St David of Wales, an excellent example, see Owain Tudor Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day: The Medieval Office of the Welsh Patron Saint in National Library of Wales MS 20541 E* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1990).

[15] The music and texts of the original *Recollectio*, by Carlier and Du Fay, were entirely replaced. See Barbara Haggh, 'The Medium Transforms the Message? Conflicting Evidence from the Printed Sources of the *Officium Recollectionis Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis*', in *Il canto piano nell'era della stampa: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi sul canto liturgico nei secoli XV–XVIII, Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Venezia, Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 9–11 ottobre 1998*, ed. by Giulio Cattin, Danilo Curti, and Marco Gozzi (Trent: Provincia autonoma di Trento, Servizio beni librari e archivistici, 1999), pp. 73–80.

exceptional procedures in the offices, for example, of each century, of geographic regions, or of the kinds of ecclesiastical establishments where they were composed or copied. We noted that early offices usually have newly written prose texts, after the manner of the Bible, but they also tend to have chant sung without tonal ordering.[16] Those composed beginning in the late ninth century are primarily distinct by their organization of the antiphons and responsories by tone, and not by their texts,[17] but by the twelfth century, the sung texts of most offices are in poetry, rhymed, and numerical, though an exceptional category consists of those organized by syllable count but not necessarily rhymed. In the thirteenth century and afterwards, one can identify subcategories of offices using different kinds of verse, both accentual and quantitative. Within the large number of offices of this time, the elaboration of cadences with patterns of accents known as 'cursus' then was rare, Goliardic metre continued to be common, Leonine hexameters appeared occasionally, and more complex versification was absent, except in hymns. Andrew Hughes has discussed irregularities in verse and pointed to the variety of text forms, which could include acrostics or poetic metres borrowed from other offices.[18]

The borrowing of chant or of metrical patterns from other offices already occurs early on. For example, texts for old or especially significant saints, such as St Martin of Tours or St Thomas of Canterbury, were adapted or wholly contrafacted in the offices of other saints.[19] Once contrafacting became known, a technique developed in the sequence repertory, it was applied frequently in

[16] See, for example, Barbara Haggh, 'The Office of St Germain, Bishop of Auxerre', *Études grégoriennes*, 16 (1998), 111–34. But note that in the Office of St Hilary of Poitiers, most of the chants as well as the lessons are excerpts from the *Vita* by Venantius Fortunatus.

[17] See the offices edited by Antoine Auda, *L'École musicale liégeoise au xe siècle: Étienne de Liège* (Bruxelles: Hayez, 1923); Yves Chartier, *L'Oeuvre musicale de Hucbald de Saint-Amand* (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1995); Jean-François Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc des saints martyrs Denis, Rustique et Eleuthère* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2002); and the 'classic' article by Andrew Hughes, 'Modal Order and Disorder in the Rhymed Office', *Musica Disciplina*, 38 (1983), 29–51.

[18] Hughes, 'Late Medieval Plainchant', pp. 77–78; cf. Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for Electronic Research*, 2 vols (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993), I, 48–61.

[19] An antiphon from the Office for St Martin of Tours was borrowed for the Office of St Jean of Réôme. See Barbara Haggh, 'The Office of St Jean de Réôme: Its Notation, Music and Message', in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, ed. by Terence Bailey and László Dobszay, Musicological Studies, 87 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), pp. 247–74 (p. 271).

proper offices, especially in later offices for the saints of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders.[20] Complexes of offices with common models, like these based on the offices for St Francis and St Dominic, which Andrew Hughes grouped separately, need further investigation. At the level of individual Office chants, we observe that the index to *Analecta Hymnica* reveals many stereotypical Office text incipits: there are pages of *Ave* [Name], *Ave beata/beate* [Name], or *Ecce dies*, etc. Thanks to the large number of antiphoners indexed for CANTUS: A Database of Latin Ecclesiastical Chant and Andrew Hughes's database of Late Medieval Liturgical Offices, it is easy to identify borrowed chants and contrafacta.[21]

A characteristic of offices dating from after the thirteenth century is not only the variety in their poetry and the use of models, but also a new musical style that is less recitational, neumatic, and formulaic, and more 'melodic', with intervals filled in, scales, and arches. The placement and treatment of melismas varies and changes, as do cadences. There is less and less evidence for universally preferred procedures, such as we find in the twelfth century.

But one might also consider a periodization of saints' offices following the history of the cult of saints, for each major change corresponded to the introduction of new offices.[22] The Carolingian enthusiasm for Roman martyrs resulted in a first wave of offices. The establishment of All Saints' Day and of churches modelled after the Pantheon for the martyrs' relics, such as St Germain d'Auxerre and St Bénigne in Dijon, increased the cult of saints.[23]

[20] Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, 103–93 (the catalogue of offices gives cross-references to models for offices, but not to offices modelled after a particular Office); on the Franciscan models for the two Elizabeth offices, see Barbara Haggh, *Two Offices for St Elizabeth of Hungary* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1995). On the offices for St Francis and St Dominic, see Hughes, 'Late Medieval Plainchant', pp. 66–75.

[21] <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca> and <http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm>, respectively. A study resulting from such searches is Andrew Hughes, 'Echoes and Allusions: Sources of the Office for St Dominic', in *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine*, ed. by Leonard E. Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy (Paris: CNRS, 2004), pp. 279–300.

[22] See Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe, *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), who emphasize insular, Gallican, and Italian churches.

[23] William Lloyd MacDonald, *The Pantheon: Design, Meaning, and Progeny* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Christian Sapin, 'L'Origine des rotondes mariales des IXe–XIe siècles et le cas de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre', in *Marie: Le culte de la vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat and others (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996), pp. 295–312.

As we know, by the ninth century many European churches were dedicated to martyrs, not only to Apostles.[24]

After the Viking invasions devastated abbeys and churches in Europe, these sought to re-establish their former glory by safeguarding their possessions and attracting worshippers. Saints' relics were part of that agenda. The phenomenon of the theft and multiplication of relics persists from the tenth to thirteenth centuries, a period of falsified saints and charters inventing not only their histories, but the histories of their abbeys.[25] The arrival of a saint's relic, its translation, or its invention required the composition of a new proper Office, as the chronological proximity of such events and of manuscript sources for offices attests.[26] Yet it is reasonable to assume that sometimes the *Commune Sanctorum* would have furnished a temporary Office, while the commissioned composer(s) finished the proper texts and music.[27]

A new chapter in the history of the saints' Office begins with the rise of Marian devotion, the establishment of the religious orders, and the increasingly frequent canonization of *medieval* holy men and women as saints. Contributing factors surely included the birth of Purgatory and the corresponding need for intercession.[28] Soon each church, abbey, and order venerated its unique collection of saints.

One could argue, however, that the purpose of offices, not just the choice of saint, was what mattered. Transfers of relics and the composition of some *historiae* were political or diplomatic acts. The Office of St Jean of Réôme, the patron saint of a fifth-century Burgundian abbey, is written down in a beautiful manuscript beginning with an impressive initial at the time when its abbots were Maiolus and Heldricus, also abbots of its powerful neighbour, Cluny.[29]

[24] Information about French saints, dates of dedication, and local cults may be found at the website 'Millesimo', <http://millesimo.irht.cnrs.fr>.

[25] Patrick Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978; rev. edn 1990).

[26] See Barbara Haggh, 'Musique et rituel à l'abbaye Saint-Bavon: Structure et développement du rituel, le chant, les livres du rite et les imprimés', in *La cathédrale Saint-Bavon de Gand du Moyen Âge au Baroque*, ed. by Bruno Bouckaert (Gent: Ludion, 2000), pp. 46–85 and 229–31.

[27] In his study of the Office for St Patrick in this volume, Furlong identifies three stages of properization: first the use of ferial chant, then of chant from the *Commune*, finally proper chant.

[28] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

[29] Haggh, 'The Office of St Jean de Réôme'.

The abbey at Réôme was older than Cluny, so the decoration was a visible sign of power. Gottschalk of Aachen's donation and new sequence for the feast of the *Divisio apostolorum* in the late eleventh century (1071–84) promoted a royalist view during the Investiture Controversy, and the only rhymed Office for the feast is of German origin, though it has not been attributed to Gottschalk in print.[30] The offices composed for St Louis were created to reinforce his legacy.[31] A much later example of a politically motivated Office is that for the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin supported by Philip the Fair of Burgundy-Habsburg and with a liturgy resulting from a competition for the best Office.[32]

Returning to our chronology of the veneration of saints, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the construction of new cathedrals in the new Gothic style, which had room for more chapels and altars, corresponded not only to the development of feasts to celebrate Christ's Passion, such as Corpus Christi, but to more acquisitions of relics, especially those of the Passion from the East, a result of crusading fervour. If churches had multiple patron saints or relics, as was the case at Notre-Dame Cathedral and at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, special offices for their 'feasts of the relics' were composed, often compilations of isolated antiphons and responsories taken from the pre-existing offices for the individual relics.[33] So by 1300, most churches could boast lists of relics covering pages and pages, and saints' days filling their kalendars. In the eleventh century, *historiae* had been written down in separate gatherings and often compiled with saints' *vitae* into hagiographical *libelli*, but by the thirteenth century, they had to be integrated into the new book type, the breviary.

Finally, in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, pious foundations play a significant role. Many new saints were introduced in church calendars by the foundations of clergy and laymen or laywomen alike.[34] Saints might also be removed,

[30] Michael McGrade, 'Gottschalk of Aachen, the Investiture Controversy, and Music for the Feast of the *Divisio apostolorum*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 49 (1996), 351–408. Cf. Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, *Texts*, no. [XX51].

[31] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008). The offices for St Louis are examined *in extenso* as part of the argument.

[32] Emily Snow, 'The Lady of Sorrows: Music, Devotion, and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 2010).

[33] Rebecca Baltzer, 'Another Look at a Composite Office and its History: The Feast of the *Susceptio Reliquiarum* in Medieval Paris', *JRMA*, 113 (1988), 1–27.

[34] Barbara Haggh, 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', *Acta Musicologica*, 68 (1996), 87–128. On the foundations that changed the kalendar of Cambrai Cathedral, see Barbara Haggh, 'Guillaume Du Fay and the

or their ranks reduced, to make way for more fashionable newcomers. Account books listing distributions to the clergy or payments for candles often reveal degrees of solemnity and continuity of such celebrations, and it can be useful to observe the ebb and flow in popularity of saints' devotions, or to know when and why saints' offices were discontinued. Sometimes foundations raised the ranks of feasts to levels requiring proper offices, a less explored phenomenon. Few comprehensive examinations of founded celebrations have been made, and more fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *historiae* should be studied in this context.[35]

Changes that were made over time to proper offices, such as the removal, replacement, or reform of their chant, sometimes a consequence of liturgical change, are also neglected, and one such important development affecting the genre of the *historia* was the end of the celebration of Matins. From the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries some collegiate chapters struggled to keep enough clergy in the choir to sing Matins, and Matins chant increasingly appears as processional chant in liturgical books. In the twentieth century at the Abbey of St-Pierre in Solesmes only the third nocturn was sung on saints' days and then only on feast days of *premier ordre*.[36]

Catalogues, Editions, and Complexity

A more detailed stylistic history of the genre of the proper Office, to refine the broad outlines presented above, has yet to be written,[37] in part because of many gaps in sources and in our knowledge of them. Basic work identifying, cataloguing, and situating the sources of saints' offices is making progress, and bibliographical resources are available on- and offline.[38] Editions of texts are available,

Evolution of the Liturgy at Cambrai Cathedral in the Fifteenth Century', in *International Musicological Society Study Group 'Cantus Planus': Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Institute for Musicology, 1992), pp. 549–69.

[35] See Barbara Haggh-Huglo, *Recollecting the Virgin Mary in Music: Guillaume Du Fay's Chant across Five Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). This book traces the history of a fifteenth-century foundation to Vatican II.

[36] Private communication from Michel Huglo, 6 June 2008.

[37] The first book devoted to the saints' offices in general is Andrew Hughes's *The Versified Office*, 2 vols (Lions Bay, BC: The Institute of Mediæval Music, 2012), but it is limited to offices in verse.

[38] See David Hiley's website, 'Regensburg's data pool for research on Gregorian chant', at <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/>, and Christian Meyer's website, 'Musicologie médiévale', at <http://www.musmed.fr>.

but editions of music less so, and the editing of a proper Office is a complex process. Like operas, saints' offices were performed by many individuals, each using their own books, meaning that they can only be reconstructed by recourse to a variety of sources, some, such as hagiographical *libelli*, which have not been catalogued and may hide fully notated offices. Widely diffused saints' offices may exist in multiple versions, even with variants as significant as entirely different series of antiphons and responsories.[39] We already noted that proper offices could also change over time, losing chant or attracting new chant.[40]

Composers

Several historiographical problems challenge those who seek to evaluate the music of this repertory.[41] The first is that of anonymity. Chant is often assumed to be anonymous because, with the exception of the early ninth-century graduals beginning with rubrics naming Pope Gregory the Great and tropers of St Gallen naming monks such as Tuotilo and Notker as composers, books of medieval Christian chant never name composers.

Documentary sources, such as chronicles, charters, or wills, do name the composers of proper offices, however. Chronicles ascribe such offices to composers beginning with ninth-century luminaries such as Alcuin, Charles the Bald, Heiric of Auxerre, Hucbald, and Stephen of Liège; in the next century, Adhémar of Chabannes, the composer of dozens of new chants; then prominent early medieval clergymen and theologians such as Fulbert of Chartres, Thomas Aquinas, and Albertus Magnus; or composers, such as Julian of Speyer. Documents tell us that this latter musician died before finishing an Office of St Dominic.[42] A thirteenth-century chronicle names two individuals, the author of texts and the composer applying neumes to an Office for St Elizabeth of Hungary

[39] See, for example, the *historiae* for St Martin and St Denis: Martha Fickett, *Historia Sancti Martini* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006), and Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc*.

[40] See the contribution by Furlong in this volume.

[41] Some topics treated in this section are also discussed by Thomas F. Kelly, 'Medieval Composers of Liturgical Chant', *Musica e storia*, 14 (2006), 95–126, but this article came to my attention too late to be considered here.

[42] See Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*; James Grier, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-century Aquitaine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and on the attribution of the Dominic Office to Julian of Speyer, see Hughes, 'Late Medieval Plainchant', p. 74, n. 102.

that appears in a Cambrai antiphoner anonymously.[43] In the fifteenth century, several charters and an executor's account name Guillaume Du Fay as the composer of what can be considered a *historia* for the Virgin Mary, the feast of the *Recollectio festorum beate Marie virginis*.[44] And we must not forget theorists, such as Hermannus Contractus (d. 1054), the named composer of *historiae* for Magnus, Wolfgang, George, Afra, and Gordianus and Epimachus. The catalogue of offices of Andrew Hughes names more than thirty composers, and while some are surely the authors only of texts, some are demonstrably musicians. In short, just as we know — from documentary sources and not from ascriptions — the names of composers of Parisian polyphony of the thirteenth century, or of the polyphony in the Roman de Fauvel, or even of some of the sacred polyphony in the fifteenth-century choirbook, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 5557, so do we find evidence for the compositional activity of named composers of chant in the archives. The corollary is that we can and should attempt to recover the names of composers of the medieval monophonic as well as polyphonic repertory, rather than hide their unique accomplishments in 'repertories'.

Criticizing Medieval Chant

Another historiographical problem is that of assessing the quality of the chant in proper offices, which we regularly do with medieval painting and architecture and with music dating from after 1600, even 1500. If prominent individuals are credited with offices, does their prominence in other areas also manifest itself in some way in their music? Can we identify not only more or less beautiful chant, but also chant of lesser or better quality? In short, can 'music criticism', which has played a vital role in the history and historiography of music in general, be applied to medieval chant?

Some twentieth-century authors have described medieval chant as manifesting decline after the heyday of the pre-Carolingian reinvented 'Gregorian' repertory,[45] even though Dom Paolo Ferretti entitled his book-length study

[43] Haggh, *Two Offices*, p. xiv, n. 14.

[44] Barbara Haggh, 'The Celebration of the *Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 1457–1987', in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia*, ed. by Angelo Pompili, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi, and F. Alberto Gallo, 3 vols (Torino: Edizioni di Torino, 1990), III, 559–71.

[45] The 'decline' is often associated with the loss of nuance in neumatic notation and of the exuberant melismatic writing of earlier compositions, and with the new equal-note performance of chant.

Estetica gregoriana,[46] medieval writers acknowledge 'beauty' as a characteristic of music,[47] and medieval documents praise composers of chant for their musicianship and ability to compose melody.

We can see what was expected of a composer of chant in a limited number of writings of medieval theorists, who provide ample evidence not only for the new composition of chant, but for the existence of principles that should be followed by it.[48] Theorists agree on the following points:[49]

- Chant should fit its text;
- Chant should follow the rules of the tone or mode;
- Chant should express or at least not contradict the meaning of the text;
- Chant should not be too prolix;
- Chant should have a pleasing variety;
- Repetition is undesirable;
- Too many large intervals are undesirable;
- Melismas must be placed where they do not startle the listener.

For example, the author of the thirteenth-century *Summa musice* writes: 'The new master of chant should avoid pointless repetition, truncated brevity, and tiresome prolixity [...]. The Moderns should realize that they are not allowed

[46] Paolo Ferretti, *Estetica gregoriana* (Roma: Pontificio istituto di musica sacra, 1934; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1977).

[47] Cf. *Thesaurus musicarum latinarum*, <http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/start.html>.

[48] Karlheinz Schlager published a detailed survey of medieval treatises on the composition and singing of chant: Karlheinz Schlager, '*Ars cantandi — Ars componendi*: Texte und Kommentare zum Vortrag und zur Fügung des mittelalterlichen Chorals', in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer, Thomas Ertelt, Heinz von Loesch, 12 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985–2006), IV (2000), 217–92. Also see Jan Herlinger, 'Music Theory of the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries', in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by Strohm and Blackburn, pp. 244–300. Unfortunately, more texts concern singing than composing. The medieval theory of plainchant is now available through the *Thesaurus musicarum latinarum*, <http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/start.html> and the page 'Informationen zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters' at <http://www.lml.badw.de/info/index.htm>.

[49] Cf. Barbara Haggh, 'Guillaume Du Fay, Teacher and Theorist, and his Chant for Cambrai Cathedral', in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group 'Cantus Planus'*, ed. by Dobszay, pp. 817–44, in which I argue that Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus*, ch. 15, informed Du Fay's manner of composing chant.

everything which was allowed to the Ancients'.[50] To these admonitions, we can compare the regulations of the Cistercians, or Jean Le Munerat's late fifteenth-century treatise.[51] Even if these medieval witnesses are responding to specific local situations, they can guide us in evaluating offices.

From the available editions and analyses, it is clear that composers of proper offices used a great variety of styles, to the extent that generalizations cannot and should not be made. We know that offices range from idiosyncratic, even rule-breaking musical compositions, to carefully crafted contrafacts, or well-behaved, homogeneous sets of melodies. Peter Wagner, Ritva Jonsson, Andrew Hughes, David Hiley, Jean-François Goudesenne, as well as the editors of volumes in the *Historiae* series, and many other authors of independent editions, have provided a foundation for future analyses.[52] Important progress in cataloguing and analysing antiphons, responsories, and hymn melodies has also advanced the study of saints' offices. The new possibility to search melodies using the Volpiano font has led to a better understanding of responsory melodies.[53] In short, there is no reason for music criticism to shy away from saints' offices, given the evidence we have in theoretical writings and the occasional opinions we find in medieval documents.

The Activity of Composition

There is another threat to chant criticism: cold water has implicitly been thrown on the enterprise, because the composition of medieval monophony is often aligned with the concept of 'making' as 'craftsmanship', which is seemingly incompatible with high or exceptional quality. Rob C. Wegman has

[50] *Summa musice*, ed. by Christopher Page (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 123.

[51] See Claire Maître, *La Réforme cistercienne du plain-chant: Étude d'un traité théorique* (Brecht: Abdij Nazareth, 1995); Don Harrán, *In Defense of Music: The Case for Music as Argued by a Singer and Scholar of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

[52] See note 2 above; the bibliography on saints' offices published in *Beiträge der Gregorianik*, 9/10 (1990), 205–18, and 15/16 (1993), 143–61, and in the 'Liturgical Chant Bibliography' compiled first by Peter Jeffery and then by Günther Paucker, appearing regularly in *PMM*; and the bibliography of writings by David Hiley in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, ed. by Terence Bailey and László Dobszay (Ottawa: Institute for Mediæval Music, 2007), pp. 473–90. A list of volumes published in the *Historiae* series can be found at <http://www.medievalmusic.ca/english/completecatalogue.htm>.

[53] Katherine Eve Helsen, 'The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Regensburg, 2008); available at <http://epub.uni-regensburg.de/10769/>.

claimed that in the late fifteenth century, a transition took place from that of the 'maker' to that of the 'composer',[54] and indeed, the verb often used to describe the origin of a *historia* is *facere* if it is not *compilare* or *edere*, the former term suggesting a more passive process; 'edere' was the medieval equivalent of 'to publish'.[55] Wegman interprets the verb *facere* to mean craftsmanship, following the writings of Johannes Tinctoris, and this effectively widens the gulf between 'making' in the medieval sense and 'composing' in the modern sense.

There is another meaning of the word *facere*, however, which would have been known to medieval clergymen. It is used throughout the Bible, particularly in the book of Genesis, which was read on Easter Sunday, and also in other liturgical chant, such as the hymn for Christmas, *Verbum caro factum est*. In these texts, God 'creates' the World and the Word, that is, Christ, with the verb *facere*. If we keep the biblical texts in mind, the transition from 'creation' to 'composition' takes on a different meaning from that proposed by Wegman. 'Creation' recognizes the mystery as well as the intention in the process; 'composition' emphasizes the construction of music by bringing together pitches, intervals, phrases, and so on. The meaning of counterpoint is not so different, for different voices are brought together. It seems more likely that there was more continuity of meaning in the medieval terms *componere* and *compositor*, the latter meaning 'composer' and used by Hucbald as well as Tinctoris, than Wegman admits, and that the term *facere* held an entirely different meaning, one far from craftsmanship.[56]

In any case, it is undeniable that the composition of a proper Office represented a major effort that occurred only rarely. This is suggested by the fact that most individual establishments, for example, St Bavo's Abbey in Ghent and Cambrai Cathedral, sang no more than a few locally composed saints' offices.[57]

[54] Rob C. Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500', *JAMS*, 49 (1996), 409–79.

[55] These terms are not defined in *Lexicon musicum latinum medii aevi*, ed. by Michael Bernhard (München: Beck, 1992–), but see Hughes, 'Late Medieval Plainchant', p. 44.

[56] See *Lexicon musicum latinum*, ed. by Bernhard *s.v.* 'compono', 'compositio', 'compositor'.

[57] Haggh, 'Musique et rituel à l'abbaye Saint-Bavon'; Roman Hankeln with excursus by David Hiley, 'Identität und Internationalität: Geistliche Einstimmigkeit im Mittelalterlichen Regensburg', in *Musikgeschichte Regensburgs*, ed. by Thomas Emmerig (Regensburg: Pustet, 2006), pp. 3–29; and Barbara Haggh, 'Introduction', in *Two Cambrai Antiphoners: Cambrai. Mediathèque municipale, 38 and Impr. XVI C 4: Printouts from Two Indices in Machine-Readable Form: A CANTUS Index*, ed. by Ruth Steiner and others, Musicological Studies, 55.4 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1995), pp. vii–xxxi.

The proper offices for saints of regional or international significance were borrowed from elsewhere. There is evidence, however, that such borrowed offices were often adapted to meet local needs by the composition of new hymns or canticle antiphons, by changing the division of their lessons, or by reordering responsories, less often antiphons. We note, though, that the clusters of offices composed in the diocese of Reims, or in Ghent, or in Regensburg, do not exhibit common stylistic trademarks, and that borrowed offices could achieve prominent local status.[58]

In short, probably because proper saints' offices appear anonymously in chant manuscripts, they have been drowned in the 'repertory' of Gregorian chant, their unique contributions to the history of music going unrecognized. Consequently, even if 'greatness' is implicitly imposed on the 'named' composers before Josquin in textbooks, often because they can be associated with stylistic innovation, it is never invoked today for medieval composers of chant. Moreover, the concept of 'stylistic innovation' is as foreign to the historiography of chant as is the concept of authorship, even though the publications of David Hiley and Andrew Hughes, in particular, have demonstrated that it existed. Even if the development of proper saints' offices is complex and difficult to trace in a linear history, it nevertheless provides the best evidence we have for the history of medieval sacred monophonic composition, because they were the longest and most complicated musical genres of their time. Consequently, we can and should integrate the *historiae* and other kinds of proper offices into the history — and historiography — of medieval music.

Situating Offices of Saints

The analysis of the chant of the saints' offices is not sufficient, because each Office takes on meaning from its local as well as its regional or international context, which may be marked by the significance of the saint, theological debates, ritual practices, or donors, to give just a few examples. Research in ecclesiastical archives can play an important role in discerning this context, for documents provide fascinating details about the introduction of certain *historiae*. Pieter Mannaerts has described the introduction of the feast of St Juliana

[58] See Goudesenne, *Les Offices historiques*; Haggh, 'Musique et rituel à l'Abbaye Saint-Bavon'; Hankeln with Hiley, 'Identität und Internationalität'; Pieter Mannaerts, 'A Collegiate Church on the Divide: Chant and Liturgy at the Church of Our Lady in Tongeren, 10th–15th Centuries' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2008), on the offices for SS Vincent, Gertrude, and Judocus in Tongeren.

in Tongeren: it was approved by Robert of Thourotte of Tongeren in a letter of 1246.[59] In the letter, Robert ordered the clergy of his diocese to observe the feast yearly with a proper Office (*cum officio proprio*). The Office in question was sent along with the letter. Moreover, the *Vita* specifies that Robert made about twenty copies to be distributed, and that he planned to have the clergy convene in a synod to confirm his decisions, an event which was prevented by his death. Two centuries later, Guillaume Du Fay composed the chant for the *Recollectio* after he received texts that had been sent by messenger from Cambrai to the Savoy court; the final composition was returned to Cambrai Cathedral and copied into twenty-seven books.[60] These two incidents show that *officia propria* evidently travelled by post and messenger. The Tongeren incident shows that new offices had to be approved, but the formal processes that introduced saints' offices have not been investigated. Once foundations introduced new celebrations, it is unlikely that bishops could do much to remove them, though foundations introduced feasts to a specific church, and it was up to the bishop to allow their celebration throughout a diocese.

It is also useful to study local repertories of offices as well as the diffusion of individual offices. Archives too provide information about saints' devotions where liturgical books do not survive, which can help us to reconstruct local practices.[61] And there is iconographic and literary evidence: altarpieces recounting the lives of saints are a late medieval phenomenon, as is the broad popularity of the Italian Dominican Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, which furnished texts for some later *historiae*. Of course, other genres of book are also pertinent, such as martyrologies, obituaries, and ordinals.

[59] Mannaerts, 'A Collegiate Church', p. 108.

[60] Barbara Haggh, 'The Aostan Sources for the *Recollectio festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis* by Guillaume Du Fay', in *International Musicological Society Study Group 'Cantus Planus': Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihány, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Institute for Musicology, 1990), pp. 355–75. That Du Fay was staying at the Savoy court in Chambéry when he composed the *Recollectio* is argued in Barbara Haggh, ed., *Gilles Carlier and Guillaume Du Fay: Recollectio festorum beate Marie Virginis: A History, Edition, and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, in progress).

[61] Barbara Haggh, 'Reconstructing the Plainchant Repertory of Brussels and its Chronology', in *Musicology and Archival Research: Colloquium Proceedings, Brussels, 22–23.4.1993*, ed. by Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelemans, and André Vanrie, Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, 46 (Bruxelles: Archives générales du Royaume, 1994), pp. 177–213.

A Case Study: The Historia *for St Livinus of Ghent*

The Office of St Livinus of Ghent that reappears in Prague had an especially unusual career.[62] This carefully composed Office for a meticulously invented patron saint of Ghent travelled over a long distance to eastern Europe, where it was adapted to new local practices, and where the *Vita* for this saint proved to be highly influential far from its place of origin. This Office also gives evidence that Irish saints were particularly prized on the Continent well after the influx of Irish priests in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods.

From the tenth to the twelfth century, following Viking raids, the two Benedictine abbeys of Ghent, St Peter's and St Bavo's, sought to secure property and power. To substantiate their antiquity, they falsified charters; to sanctify their altars, they collected holy relics.[63] Consequently, many new saints' days found a place in their kalendars, and *historiae* had to be composed for them.

With few 'legitimate' saints known to have been martyred in Ghent, the monks had to find them where they could, either at nearby locations from which their relics could be formally 'translated' to Ghent,[64] or in their fertile imaginations, which could configure a saint to suit their needs. St Livinus, bishop and martyr, and patron saint of Ghent until today, falls into the latter category.[65] The creation of his Irish identity is well known,[66] but his musical legacy, apart from two remarkable polyphonic masses composed to *cantus firmi*

[62] An earlier version of this section was published as Barbara Haggh, 'An Office in Prague for St Livinus of Ghent', in *Littera nigro scripta manet: In honorem Jaromír Černý*, ed. by Jan Bat'a, Jiří K. Kroupa, Lenka Mráčková (Praha: Koniasch Latin Press, 2009), pp. 23–32. The Livinus Office has not been edited, but I hope to edit it soon.

[63] O. Holder-Egger, 'Zu den Heiligengeschichten des Genter St Bavoklosters', in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet*, ed. by Konrad Trieber (Hannover: Hahn, 1886), pp. 623–65; cf. Cyrille Vleeschouwers, 'Florbert', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 17 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1969), cols 510–12.

[64] The relics of SS Landoald, Amantius, Julianus, Vinciana, Adeltrud, and Landrada arrived at St Bavo's Abbey by translation in 980; the relics of SS Wandregisilus (Wandrille), Ansbertus, and Vulframnus were translated to St Peter's Abbey in Ghent in 944. See Barbara Haggh, 'Sources for Plainchant and Ritual from Ghent and London: A Survey and Comparison', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n.s., l (1996), 23–72 (p. 69).

[65] See A. De Wachter, 'Bij het traditionele eeuwfeest van Sint Lieven in 1957', *Collectanea Mechliniensia*, 41 (1956), 324–39 and 463–71.

[66] See *Acta sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti.*, ed. by Luc d'Achéry and Jean Mabillon, 6 vols (Paris: Billaine, 1668–1701), II, 450–61.

from his Office,[67] has never been studied. Here, we recount the 'birth' of St Livinus and consider the *historia* composed for him in Ghent, its chant, its transmission to Prague, and his cult in eastern Europe. By bringing attention to the presence of music for this saint so far from his 'home', we wish to encourage study of the transmission of *historiae* in the later Middle Ages, as well as of their music.[68]

Around 1050, a monk, almost certainly at St Bavo's Abbey, forged the earliest Life of an Irish saint who was named Livinus.[69] Writing under the name of Boniface, Bishop of Mainz,[70] he gave his work validity by attributing three authentic saints to Livinus as his disciples, SS Foillan, Helias, and Kilian, and then stating that they had dictated the Life to him. In fact, Pseudo-Boniface pillaged most of the *Vita* from that for St Lebuin of Deventer, whose feast day, 12 November, became the day of the *passio* of St Livinus (other feasts celebrated at St Bavo's were his *adventus* on 16 August, his *translatio* on 2 October, and his *elevatio* on 28 June). To choose to fabricate an Irish saint can be understood, for there was the prestige of the venerable Irish monastic foundations at St Gallen, Luxeuil, and Bobbio, and a fair number of Irish saints already graced Continental church calendars.[71]

Pseudo-Boniface's strategy was even cleverer, for he wrote that Livinus was born in the seventh century to Irish nobility. This gave the saint a royal pedigree and placed him in the century when the two Ghent abbeys were founded, thereby associating St Bavo's Abbey with Irish Christianity like its competing abbey in Ghent, St Peter's.[72] Upon Livinus's birth, a vision foretold his great-

[67] Mary Jennifer Bloxam, 'In Praise of Spurious Saints: The *Missae Floruit egregius* by Pipelare and La Rue', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 44 (1991), 163–220.

[68] Compare, for example, Zsuzsa Czagány, *Historia de Sancta Martha Hospita Christi* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2004), which was sung in southern France, Aquileia, and Poland.

[69] The two *Vitae* and two Translations of St Livinus and their modern editions are cited in *BHL*, p. 737. Also see Maurice Coens, 'L'auteur de la Passio Livini s'est-il inspiré de la Vita Lebuini?', *ABoll.*, 70 (1952), 285–305. A useful critique of the *Vita* of Livinus by Pseudo-Boniface is Sabine Baring-Gould, 'Livinus', in *The Lives of the Saints*, 16 vols (London: Nimmo 1898), XIII, 300–04.

[70] Sent by the Pope and supported by Charles Martel, the Anglo-Saxon Boniface (d. 754) evangelized Germany, becoming Bishop of Mainz in 746.

[71] See the essays by Picard and Casey in this volume.

[72] Monks from St Peter's Abbey were present in Winchester for the drafting of the *Regularis Concordia c.* 970–72, and St Dunstan of Canterbury visited St Peter's Abbey in 956–57. See

ness to an unidentified archbishop who, along with St Augustine of Canterbury, baptized him, naming him Livinus after his martyred uncle, an archbishop of the Irish Church. At his baptism, a column of light shone on the child, a hand of fire traced a cross three times on his forehead, and a voice from heaven thundered, 'Beloved of God and men, whose memory shall be blessed'.

After performing many miracles in Ireland, beginning in his youth, Livinus and his three companions went to study with St Augustine in Canterbury, a prominent figure in the history of the medieval church, for he is credited with evangelizing England. St Augustine of Canterbury himself then ordained Livinus a priest. Being a mere priest was not enough, so Livinus soon became Archbishop of Ireland. Yet he appointed a substitute there, which allowed him to leave for Flanders and settle in the best possible location, at St Bavo's Abbey in Ghent, where he was warmly received by Abbot Floribert (fl. seventh c.). Soon Livinus was in Brabant, preaching and destroying idols. There he cured a blind man, but a wild pagan man took out his tongue. When Livinus recovered it miraculously, the pagan man then beheaded him, thereby raising the newly martyred saint to the category of cephalophores, which included the most illustrious St Denis of Paris and St Nicasius of Reims. Martyred with Livinus were the baby Brictius (not St Brice of Tours) and his mother, Chraphahild, not known from any other hagiography.

According to Pseudo-Boniface's *Vita*, Theodore, Bishop of Cambrai, translated the relics of the three martyrs to Villa Holthem, an estate near Ghent owned by St Bavo's Abbey. Then on 28 June 1007, Erembold, Abbot of St Bavo's, translated them to the abbey, where they were ceremoniously 'elevated' in 1010 to prove the existence of the saint to the populace. Abbot Folbert (*c*. 1040–66) introduced a yearly procession to St Lievens-Houtem, where the villa once stood, which would take place with great ceremony throughout the Middle Ages.[73] Also dating from the eleventh century is a poem ostensibly sent by Livinus to Floribert, *Audeo mira loqui*.[74] Finally, in 1171, the relics of Livinus were elevated and described a second time, for good measure.

Georges Declercq, 'Heiligen, lekenabten en hervormers: De Gentse abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs tijdens de Eerste Middeleeuwen (7de–12de eeuw)', in *Ganda & Blandinium: de Gentse abdijen van Sint Pieters en Sint Baafs*, ed. by Georges Declercq (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1997), pp. 13–40 (p. 35).

[73] On music in this procession, see Bruno Bouckaert and Paul Trio, 'Trompers, pipers en luders in de Gentse Sint-Baafsabdij (14de–16de eeuw): Over de muzikale opluistering van enkele processies', *Musica Antiqua*, [Peer] 11 (1994), 150–55.

[74] *AASS*, Oct. 1, 227.

The *historia* of St Livinus, which quotes from the *Vita* by Pseudo-Boniface in the sixth responsory verse,[75] would have been composed soon after the *Vita* and certainly no later than 1171. Indeed, the earliest known music was written down by the end of the twelfth century, along with music for St Landoald. It survives in a small, independent *libellus*, which was later bound in at the end of a late twelfth-century hagiographical compilation, Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 488 (94 parchment folios, measuring 25.3 × 17 cm).[76] Its contents are as follows:

> 1r 'Ex veteri bibliotheca domini bavonis', 1v passion of Quintin, 8r life of Sebastian, 32r lives of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, 39r life of Silvester, 56v life of Appollinaris, 63v life of Lawrence, 69r passion of the 11,000 Virgins, 77r prayers for extreme unction with litany of saints (beginning 80r), invoking Livinus, Brice, Marcellinus and Petrus, Bavo, Landoald, Macharius, Amand, Donatian, Ansbertus, Vulframnus, Gudwalus, Audomarus, Folcuinus, Wandregisilus, Bertin, Bertulfus, Egidius, Winnoc, Vinciana, Landrada, Barbara, Pharaïlde, Amalberga, 85r 'Benedictio ad monachum faciendum ad succurrendum et ad clericum faciendum', 86r Office of Landoald, 89v Office of Livinus, 94v Exorcism of salt and water for Sundays.

The final gathering with the two *officia* (fols 86r–93r) was written by a different scribe and notated in Lorraine neumes, including the liquescent *punctum*, *pes*, and *clivis*, on pages of thirteen four-line Guidonian staves, the earliest example of this kind of notation from Ghent. Each staff uses a yellow line for *ut*, with

[75] The relationship between the texts of the *Vita* and Office, as well as the poetry of the Office, will be discussed in a future edition.

[76] Albert Derolez, *Inventaris van de handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent* (Gent: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1977), p. 42; Bloxam, 'In Praise of Spurious Saints', pp. 177–78 and fig. 2 (p. 178 reproduces fol. 90r); Mary Jennifer Bloxam, 'A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries: Implications for Liturgical Polyphony, 1460–1520' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1987), pp. 25, 376, 392; *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum: Bibliothecae publicae civitatis et academiae Gandavensis*, ed. by Société des Bollandistes (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1884), p. 38; *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum in bibliothecis publicis Namurci. Gandae. Leodii et Montibus asservatorum*, ed. by Société des Bollandistes, Subsidia Hagiographica, XXV (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1884; repr. 1948), pp. 162–67 (transcription of the texts of the offices of Landoald and Livinus); Maurice Coens, 'Anciennes litanies des saints (suite): XIV–XV, Litanies gantoises', *ABoll.*, 59 (1941), 272–81; M. Gauthier, 'La légende de sainte Valérie et les émaux champlevés de Limoges', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 86 (1955), 55–80; Eef Overgaauw, *Martyrologes manuscrits des anciens diocèses d'Utrecht et de Liège: Étude sur le développement et la diffusion du Martyrologe d'Usuard* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), pp. 662–63; *Le répons-graduel Justus ut Palma reproduit en fac-similé d'après plus de deux cents antiphonaires manuscrits d'origines diverses du IXe au XVIIe siècle*, ed. by Joseph Gajard and André Mocquerau, Paléographie Musicale, series 1, 3 vols in 2 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1892), pl. 166B.

a small **c** in brown ink written just left of the line, and a red line for *fa*, which is preceded by a small brown dot. There are no *custodes*. B flats are carefully indicated before the notes they affect, and the music is aligned with the text precisely. The alternating green and red initials suggest English influence on the scriptorium of St Bavo.

The chant for St Livinus fills the scheme of the Benedictine monastic Office, complete with hymns and versicles, but lacking any lessons or prayers. The psalms of the common of one martyr are prescribed. All but the Benedictus antiphon have rhymed texts: the Magnificat antiphon (AAAA), invitatory antiphon (AABBCC), antiphons of Matins (AABB), and the antiphons of Lauds (AAA). The antiphons of Matins are in Leonine hexameters.[77]

The notated chant of this Office survives exclusively in manuscripts from Ghent. Only three processionals in Michel Huglo's repertory include chant for Livinus, all from Ghent.[78] Yet some hymns and sequences for St Livinus that appear first in the fifteenth century, mostly in German manuscripts, survive in manuscripts written outside of Ghent:

Hymn *Gaude, martyr, flos Livinus* (*AH*, XXIX, 111),
2 × [(2 × 8pp) + 7pp], 3 1/2 rhymed verses
Manuscripts from Haarlem, Trier, Corssendonck,
Liège (fifteenth c.)

Hymn *Hymnum canamus glorie* (*AH*, XII, 156),
4 × 8pp, 8 rhymed verses + 1 line
Manuscripts from St Bavo's Abbey and
St Waudru in Mons (fifteenth c.);
Printed breviary from St Servatius, Trier (1503)

Hymn *Lætum carmen decantetur* (*AH*, IV, 183–84),
(2 × 8pp) + 7pp, 7 rhymed verses
Burghausen (fifteenth c.), St Servatius, Trier (1503),
Library of the Diocese of Vienna Commission
for Church Music, MS 9363

[77] The sung texts of the corresponding secular Livinus *historia*, which was edited from manuscripts from Burghausen, Munich, and Utrecht, are published in *AH*, XXVI, 253–56. On post-Tridentine reforms made to the offices of Ghent saints, including that of St Livinus, see Bloxam, 'In Praise of Spurious Saints', p. 213.

[78] Michel Huglo, *Les manuscrits du Processionnal*, 2 vols, Répertoire international des sources musicales, B XIV 1–2 (München: Henle, 1999), processionals B-2 (B XIV[1], pp. 45–46), B-36 (B XIV[1], pp. 74–76), and US-12 (B XIV[2], pp. 472–73).

Hymn	*O Livine, martyr Dei* (*AH*, XXIX, 159), 2 × (8pp + 7pp), 4 rhymed verses Manuscripts of Carthusians and from Trier (fifteenth c.)
Sequence	*Sollemni vos induite* (*AH*, XLIV, 190–91), (4 × 8pp) + (8 × [8pp + 8pp + 7pp]) + (2 × 8pp), rhymed Missals of Magdeburg (1480, 1486, 1497, 1503) and of Merseburg (1502)
Sequence	*Levine* [*sic*] *martyr* (*AH*, XXVIII, 307), rhymed end of sequence (=pair of three-line verses), 9pp + 7pp + 7pp + 8pp + 8pp + 7pp Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, MS 28 (liturgical compilation with many texts for regional saints; fifteenth to sixteenth c.)

In the fourteenth century, liturgical texts for St Livinus reached eastern Europe. The texts of the Livinus Mass were printed on folio 220^{r-v} in the *Missale Quinqueecclesiense* for Pécs, Hungary (Venice, 1499), now Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtar, RMK III 52 Inc 990. The rubric preceding the Mass explains that Nicolaus Henrici, Bishop of Pécs (d. before 25 July 1360), brought relics of St Livinus along with the *historia* and Mass to that city in 1351.[79] This most likely gives evidence of the same prestige of Irish saints that led Pseudo-Boniface to invent St Livinus in the first place.

Another interesting witness to the cult of St Livinus is a separate paper gathering in Prague, University Library, MS III D 16, in fifteenth-century Gothic notation, not unlike the much earlier *libellus* from Ghent.[80] Written on the last numbered folios in this paper manuscript, folios 347^{r} to 352^{r}, is a secular Office for the saint, including First and Second Vespers, Matins with nine antiphons and responsories, and Lauds, part of a compilation kept by the canons of

[79] This was discovered by Janka Szendrei. The texts have the rubric '*Anno Domini 1351 sunt portate huc ad quinque ecclesias reliquie beati Livini episcopi et martyris per venerabilem dominum Nicolaum episcopum Quinqueecclesiensis una cum hystoria et legenda cum missa completa de Flandria de civitate que vocatur Gandavum, vel vulgariter que dicitur Ghenth, et requiescit ibi in monasterio beati Bononis* [= *Bavonis*]: *in abbatia sancti Benedicti. Cuius festum colitur in crastino sancti martini episcopi et confessoris*'.

[80] I am grateful to Jana Novotna, who made it possible for me to study a microfilm of this manuscript while the library was closed for repair in 1995 and who provided me with photographs of the Office subsequently. The manuscript is no. 28 in Václav Plocek, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae — in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*, 2 vols (Praha: Academia scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1973), I, 91. Plocek does not provide a full inventory of the contents of the manuscript, which I have not studied in person.

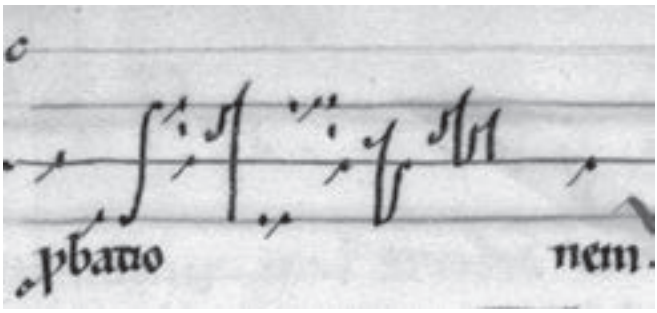

Figure 2.1.
Final melisma of responsory *Sacerdos Dei*. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 488, fol. 91^{v} (late twelfth century). Reproduced with permission.

Rudnicz in the fifteenth century. Written in two columns of ten lines each on five-line staves in dark ink, with **c** and **f** clefs, but without *custodes*, the Office lacks the beginning of First Vespers, which must have been written on a now lost preceding verso, or perhaps was not transmitted, given that the original Office was Benedictine. A collect for St Livinus written by a different scribe precedes the Office (fol. 346^{r}): 'Deus qui sanctorum martirum [=martyrum] merita preciosissimo sanguine Filii Tui dedicasti memoranda: natalis diem beati Livini martyris tui atque pontificis honorantes propicius intuere et eisdem vultus Tui hylaritatem sine fine concede. Per eundem'. Whereas the Office was written by one scribe, folio 352^{r} is in a different hand, which added an unrelated litany of saints. Evidently the outer folio of the original quaternion was lost and then replaced when the gathering was joined to the rest of the manuscript.

The Prague Office was copied as carefully as the Ghent Office. What is surprising at first glance is not so much the variants, but that most of the Office is identical to the Ghent copy, even the neumes selected and the flats and text underlay. The *repetendum* of R4 in Matins received the wrong capital letter, and R6 lacks a doxology in the Prague Office, though the latter may reflect a local practice. No psalm incipits are given. The liquescent forms are less frequent than in the Ghent Office: they include a liquescent *punctum* and *clivis*, also the *pressus* in regular and irregular forms. On folio 349^{r} a scribe drew in lines to align the music with the text. Nevertheless, the Prague chant does include variants, which mostly fill in intervals, make erroneous repeats or omissions, or recast melismas. Some suggest adaptation of the original to local practice: minor changes to the *differentia*, or adjustments reflecting the preference for the 'German' chant dialect.

In the Office for St Livinus as transmitted in the Prague manuscript, the antiphons and responsories in Matins follow the order of the tones, but tone four is missing in the Lauds series (see Table 2.1, below). The responsory verses were newly composed. The antiphons and responsories do respect the ambitus associ-

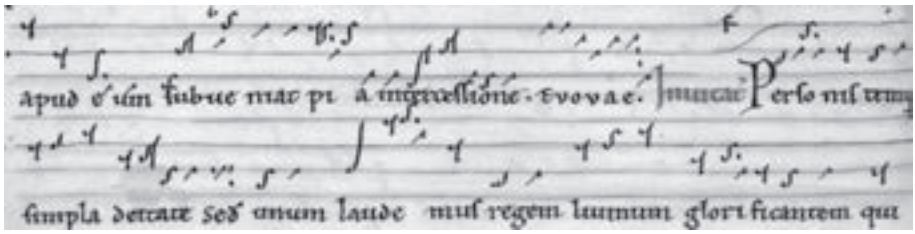

Figure 2.2. Invitatory antiphon *Personis trinum*, at '*laudemus*'. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 488, fol. 89^{v} (late twelfth century). Reproduced with permission.

ated with each tone, often including the *subtonium*. Accented syllables usually take significant tones: the final, reciting tone, or boundaries of the ambitus.

The style of the chant of the Livinus Office, which we illustrate here with its Benedictine source, Ghent MS 488, does not differentiate genres. The chant is neumatic throughout, but sprinkled with short descending cascades of two to five notes. Often single pitches mark final syllables. Internal cadences tend to rise: the *pes*-plus-*punctum* combination is common. Final cadences usually descend and, in the responsories, are preceded by long melismas on one of the last words. Some melismas repeat elements within, as does the final melisma of the Matins responsory *Sacerdos Dei*, at *probacionem* (Figure 2.1). Such melismas are entirely consistent with the twelfth-century origin of this *historia*.

In this Office, wide intervals are generally rare, and where fifths occur, they usually begin phrases, but some large intervals are used for expression, as this fifth at *laudemus*, in the invitatory antiphon *Personis trinum* (Figure 2.2).

Fourths occur more frequently. But in the antiphon *Turbavit regni* of Matins, the word *rex* is emphasized by an octave rise from the preceding pitch (Figure 2.3), which is decidedly exceptional.

The soberer Lauds antiphons have a narrower ambitus than those for Matins, and expressive word painting does not require rising pitches in this Office. In the responsory verse of Matins *Inter deflentes*, three repeated pitches give urgency to *appellans* (Figure 2.4).

The musical setting of this Office is somewhat recitational, since the texts are much longer than those of many later rhymed offices, notably those of the thirteenth century. Given that lengthier performance times were associated with solemnity at this time, these long texts may thus have been intended to heighten the importance of Livinus. This Office is not formulaic, nor do we find the repetition, long-scale passages, or longer, arching phrases of later medieval offices. Here we find great variety within the decorated, mostly stepwise movement, and musical phrases corresponding to individual words and to short

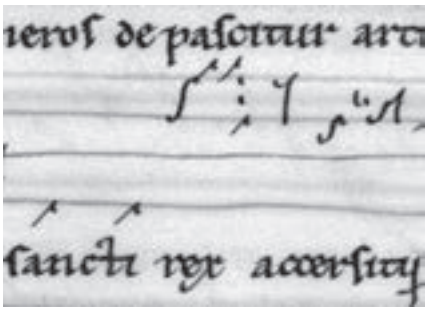

Figure 2.3. Matins antiphon *Turbavit regni*, at '*rex*'. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 488, fol. 91[r] (late twelfth century). Reproduced with permission.

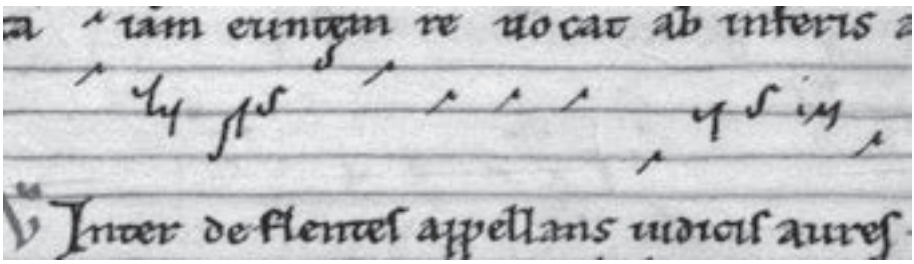

Figure 2.4. Initial phrase of responsory verse *Inter deflentes*. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 488, fol. 90[v] (late twelfth century). Reproduced with permission.

phrases, although some melodic arches do not correspond to the syntax. There is no musical rhyme or large-scale planning. Certain neumes recur frequently, but in changing functions. For example, in A3 of Matins, *Spiritus in specierum*, we find five *pedes*, each from a to c, throughout the work, as if to prepare for the sixth one in the *differentia* (see Figure 2.5).

In short, this is an Office marked by the variety that theorists beginning with Guido of Arezzo prefer and not yet achieving the uniformity of late twelfth-century offices.

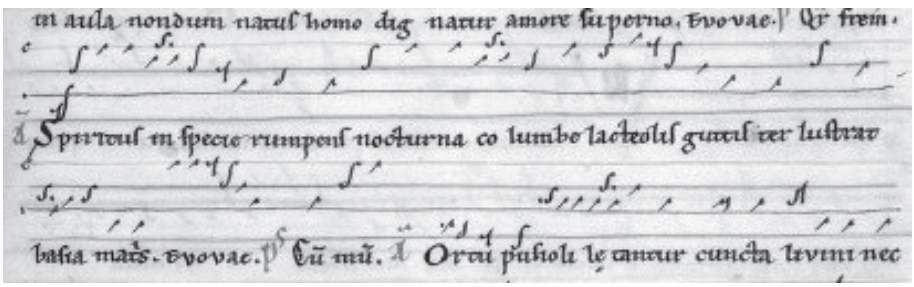

Figure 2.5. Matins antiphon *Spiritus in specierum*. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 488, fol. 90[r] (late twelfth century). Reproduced with permission.

Table 2.1. Tonal characteristics: Prague Office for Livinus.

Chant	First Pitch	Ambitus	Final	Intervals	Mode
FIRST VESPERS					
R.	G	F-g	G	5 4ths (G-c)	7
Rv.	D	G-g	G	1 4th (G-c)	7
Am.	F	C-d	D	1 5th (D-a)	1
MATINS					
Inv.	CD	A-c	D	1 5th (D-a)	2
A1.	D	C-c	D	3rds	1
A2.	CDF	C-a	D	1 4th (D-G	2
A3.	E	E-d	E	3rds	3
R1.	D	C-d	D	1 4th (F-C)	1
				1 4th (D-G)	
				1 5th (G-d)	
				1 4th (c-G)	
Rv1.	D	D-c	D	1 5th (D-a)	1
R2.	D	A-A	D	1 5th (D-A)	2
				1 4th (F-C)	
Rv2.	D	C-A	D	3rds	2
R3.	G	D-E	E	1 4th (C-G)	3
				1 4th (A-E)	
Rv3.	C	G-E	G	3rds	3
A4.	F	D-c	E	3rds	4
A5.	E	C-c	C	3rds	5 transposed
A6.	F	C-bb	F	2nds	6
R4.	F	C-c	E	4 4ths (a-E,c-G,a-E,D-G)	4
				1 5th (C-G)	
Rv4.	F	C-a	E	1 3rd	4

Chant	First Pitch	Ambitus	Final	Intervals	Mode
R5.	C	C-d	C	3rds	5 transposed
Rv5.	E	C-c	E	1 4th (c-G)	5
R6.	Ga	D-d	F	3 5ths (D-a)	6
				1 4th (G-D)	
Rv6.	F	C-d	G-F	1 4th (bb-F)	6
A7.	E	E-g	G	1 5th (E-b)	7
A8.	G	C-d	G	3rds	8
A9.	D	C-d	DC	3rds	1
R7.	G	F-g	G	3 4ths (G-c, g-d, f-c)	7
Rv7.	d	G-f	G	1 3rd	7
R8.	G	D-d	G	2 5ths (G-d)	8
				1 4th (c-G)	
Rv8.	G	F-d	G	2 4ths (G-c)	8
R9.	D	C-e	ED	3 5ths (D-a)	1
Rv9.	a	C-d	a	1 3rd	1
LAUDS					
A1.	D	C-a	D	3rds	1
A2.	D	A-a	D	1 4th (D-G)	2
A3.	E	D-d	E	3rds	3
A4.	a	F-f	F	3rds	5
A5.	F	C-bb	F	1 3rd	6
Ab.	G	F-e	G	1 4th (G-c)	7
SECOND VESPERS					
R.	CD	C-d	D	1 4th (C-F)	1
Rv.	D	D-d	F	1 5th (D-a)	1
Am.	F	C-c	E	1 4th (G-c)	4

Major variants between the Livinus Office in the Ghent and Prague manuscripts confirm that the original Office followed the monastic cursus, and that the secular Office was a later reduction. Minor variants occur in virtually every chant, perhaps evidence of transmission over distance as well as time. They include changes in neumation and *differentiae*, and recomposed or remodelled melismas.[81] The secular Office mixes patterns of rhyme in its antiphons for Lauds, whereas the monastic Office consistently differentiates the patterns of the Matins antiphons from those of the Lauds antiphons.

The dissemination of the cult of St Livinus to eastern Europe may have preceded the Prague Office for the saint. Veneration of Livinus in the East may even date from the eleventh century and had certainly occurred by 1395. In that year, a breviary of Olomouc was produced which later went from the library of the Benedictine monastery of Rajhrad (Reigern) to the University Library of Brno, where it now has the shelfmark MS R 625. It contains a text, *Beatus Cyrillus*, which borrows many passages directly from the *Life of Livinus* by Pseudo-Boniface. Yet the earliest copies of this *Vita* of Livinus from these regions date only from the fifteenth century, and both are now in Prague: Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, MS O. LVI, fols 107^{r}–113^{v}, and our manuscript discussed above, Charles University Library, MS III D 16, fols 339^{r}–346^{r} (the folios immediately preceding the *historia* that was just discussed have the *Vita*). The Benedictines clearly played a role in the diffusion of the Livinus Office, yet our Office in Prague is secular. Perhaps one day the curious eastern European diffusion of texts and music for a fictitious saint from Ghent will be explained, but it does give evidence of a continuing high opinion of Irish saints, and the appearance of the Office in a fifteenth-century manuscript could suggest transmission to Prague as the result of the traffic to and from the Councils of Constance and Basel.[82] That the effort was taken to adapt the Benedictine Office to the secular cursus and the 'Germanic' chant dialect further suggests that it was not just a curiosity, but esteemed enough to be intended for performance. Like so many medieval *historiae*, however, its composer remains anonymous.

[81] Compare note 77 above (secular Office in *AH*, XXVI) and Bloxam, 'In Praise of Spurious Saints', p. 179 (incipits of the Benedictine Office in Ghent MS 488). The full table of variants (given in Haggh, 'An Office in Prague', pp. 30–32) can be consulted online at <http://www.musmed.fr/AdMMAe/AdMMAe_index.htm>.

[82] P. Devos, 'La Passion de S. Liévin de Gand: Source principale inattendue de *Beatus Cyrillus*', *ABoll.*, 89 (1971), 371–85, and P. Devos, 'Sur la légende Beatus Cirillus', *ABoll.*, 99 (1981), 64.

Locality and Distance in Cults of Saints in Medieval Norway

Nils Holger Petersen

The Cult of St Sunniva: Introduction

Gaude felix hybernia	Rejoice, blessed Ireland,
tue regine Gloria,	in the Glory of your queen,
mundi regnum spernentis	in her who despises the rule of the world.
qua patrona noruegie	As protectress of Norway
freta cum turma socia	she relies with her followers
nutu Dei viuentis.	on the will of the living God.[1]

This praise of a purported Irish queen and patron of Norway constitutes the beginning (first antiphon for First Vespers) of a rhymed Office for the feast day of St Sunniva and her pious party, 8 July, in the printed *Breviarium Nidrosiense* (1519). The cult of St Sunniva and her followers, however, goes back approximately half a millennium to the time of the christianization of Norway. The earlier (thirteenth-century) Nidaros liturgy has been reconstructed by Lilli Gjerløw as the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* (*ON*), a *liber ordinarius* for the province of Nidaros, established in the winter of 1152–53 as an archbishopric seated in Nidaros (medieval Trondheim) and comprising all of medieval Norway including Iceland, Greenland, as well as North Atlantic islands such as the Shetland Islands, the Orkney Islands, and the Faroe Islands. The *ON* is based almost exclusively on Icelandic sources and has been taken to be the

[1] 'Af Breviarium Nidrosiense', 283; *AH*, XIII, 233. Throughout this article translations are by the present author unless otherwise indicated.

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BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.RITUS-EB.5.111064

result of liturgical reforms instigated by Archbishop Øystein (1161–88), who also launched a new ambitious building programme for the cathedral which probably continued under his successor, Archbishop Eirik (1188–1205). According to Lilli Gjerløw, the 'archetype of the ON' should be dated between *c*. 1205 and 1224.[2] In the *ON*, the rhymed Office is not referred to; indeed, the *Breviarium Nidrosiense* of 1519 is its only extant source. The Office in the *ON* — celebrated with nine (unspecified) lessons — is to be sung as the 'Common of Several Martyrs'.[3]

The Latin legend of Sunniva and the men and women at the islands of Selja and Kinn has been preserved in two printed texts and two manuscripts, all connected to the readings for the Office on 8 July. The earliest extant text is a breviary from Skara in Sweden printed in Nuremberg in 1498; another almost contemporary version is a manuscript copy of some offices to supplement the breviary of Åbo (Turku) in Finland. There is a longer and a shorter version of the legend, but in actual narrative contents they are in basic agreement.[4] There is no doubt, however, that the legend goes back much further in time. In addition to the Latin versions, versions in Old Norse are preserved from the late thirteenth century which, according to Nordic scholars, were ultimately based on earlier versions of the Latin legend.[5] Furthermore, Norwegian medieval laws (in Old Norse) refer to the feast day. Arne Odd Johnsen has pointed out how the early laws do not mention St Sunniva but only the group of holy people at Selja and Kinn, the islands on which they were martyred according to the legend; the

[2] See *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, ed. by Lilli Gjerløw, Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi, 2 (Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-institutt/Universitetsforlaget, 1968), 'Introduction', p. 73. In a recent article, I have questioned the idea that the *ON* can be taken to represent 'the liturgy' of the province as such, based on Gjerløw's own discussion of the sources for her reconstruction: Nils Holger Petersen, 'Baptismal Practices and Understanding in Medieval Nidaros', in *The Medieval Cathedral of Trondheim: Architectural and Ritual Constructions in their European Context*, ed. by Margrete Syrstad Andås, Øystein Ekroll, Andreas Haug, and Nils Holger Petersen, Ritus et Artes, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 291–307 (pp. 292–96).

[3] *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, ed. by Gjerløw, pp. 364–65; Lilli Gjerløw, 'Seljumannamessa' in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid*, 22 vols (København: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1956–78), xv (1970), 118–21 (p. 119).

[4] Stephan Borgehammar, 'Den latinske Sunnivalegenden: En edition', in *Selja — heilag stad i 1000 år*, ed. by Magnus Rindal (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1997), pp. 270–92. Borgehammar's article contains a critical edition of the (longer version of the) legend as well as an introduction with a presentation of the sources.

[5] Jan Erik Rekdal, 'Legenden om Sunniva og Seljemenneskene', in *Selja — heilag stad i 1000 år*, ed. by Rindal, pp. 101–22 (pp. 105–06).

earliest Norwegian law to refer explicitly to St Sunniva dates from 1276.[6] The common Old Norse designation 'Seljumannamessa' — corresponding to the Mass of the 'sanctorum in Selio' as the feast day is often recorded in liturgical books and kalendars (as, for instance, in both the *ON* and the *Breviarium Nidrosiense*) — may therefore be an indication of an early stage of the legend as well as of the cult prior to the introduction of Sunniva. Literary analyses of the legend material seem to corroborate such a conclusion.[7]

A fixed point in the history of the cult is provided by the translation of St Sunniva to the Cathedral of Bergen on 7 September 1170, referred to in the legend and well established in Norwegian historiography. Because of the widespread references to the Seljumannamessa in Norwegian (Old Norse) laws (reaching back to *c*. 1100), the cult must be assumed to have been established at least in the eleventh century. An interesting although somewhat obscure early reference is found in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, written in the 1070s, in one of the scholia to his Book IV, 'Descriptio insularum aquilonis' ('Description of the Northern Islands'), in which it is stated that:

> Paulus in historia Longobardorum affirmat in ultimis partibus septentrionis inter Scritefingos in quadam spelunca oceani iacere VII viros quasi dormientes, de quibus est opinio diversa, et quod predicaturi sunt illis gentibus circa finem mundi. Dicunt alii ex XI milibus virginibus illuc pervenisse aliquas, quarum cetus et naves monte obrutae sunt, ibique fieri miracula. Ubi et ecclesiam construxit Olaph.[8]
>
> [Paul in the History of the Longobards affirms that in the uttermost northern regions among the Samic people seven men lie in a certain cave at the ocean as if sleeping, about whom opinions are divided, and that they shall preach for those people at the end of the world. Others say that some of the 11,000 virgins reached that place and that their group and ships were buried under the mountain and that miracles happen there. Olav also built a church there.]

Since the narrative of St Sunniva as transmitted in the legend has obvious points of contact with the legend of St Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins

[6] Arne Odd Johnsen, 'Når slo Sunniva-kulten igjennom?', in *Bjørgvin bispestol: Frå Selja til Bjørgvin*, ed. by Per Juvkam (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1968), pp. 40–62, 120–25 (pp. 40–43).

[7] Johnsen, 'Når slo Sunniva-kulten', p. 58; Rekdal, 'Legenden', pp. 110–11 and 118–19.

[8] Adam von Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte: Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. by Bernhard Schmeidler, 3rd edn (Hannover: Hahn, 1917), p. 266, scholion 145. The reference to Paul the Deacon and the *Historia Longobardorum* is obscure.

it seems reasonable to read Adam's account as an (unspecified) reference to the Norwegian narratives of St Sunniva and her followers, that is, that he may have heard about it but not known it in any detail. Bishop Bjarnhard of Selja, who visited Bremen in 1067/68 on his return journey from Rome, could well have provided information about the cult on Selja (Latin: *Selio*).[9] As Stephan Borgehammar has suggested, however, this makes sense only if Sunniva was part of such narratives already in the mid-eleventh century. Borgehammar concludes that the legend of Sunniva — with a narrative content more or less as it exists in the surviving sources (i.e. containing both parts of the narrative: Sunniva as well as the holy people at Selja (and Kinn)) — must have been known in the mid-eleventh century. He also points to the first appearance and thereafter almost exclusive uses of the name Sunniva in Norwegian sources after 1060. The name is apparently of Old English origin, possibly from Northumberland.[10]

Altogether, the difference between the various views on the history of the legend and the cult among Nordic scholars concerns details of dating. The general consensus is that the origin of the basic narrative and of the cult cannot be retrieved with any certainty, but that both go back to close to the time indicated in the legend, the time of Olav Tryggvason, the king (995–1000) credited with the first conversion of Norway to Christianity. There is also general agreement that the part of the narrative concerned with St Sunniva is secondary, and here opinions have been divided as to when, approximately, this change ocurred. Obviously it would have had to be well before the translation in 1170, but few believe that the legend is correct in its reference to the invention of Sunniva's body by Olav Tryggvason.

Briefly paraphrased, the narrative — in whatever form preserved — tells the story of a pious virgin named Sunniva (Latin: Suniua or Sunniua) who took over the reign of her country after her father's death, during the reign of Emperor Otto I. A terrible and ungodly tyrant, however, conquered her land and ordered her to marry him. Sunniva then fled her country followed by many men, women, and children who shared in her tribulations. They sailed over the ocean without oars or other naval equipments, leaving everything to God's will. They reached Norway but were driven away by wild men. Obliged to sail on further, they were separated by a storm. Sunniva and the majority of her followers landed on the island of Selja (Selio), whereas the others came to the

[9] Johnsen, 'Når slo Sunniva-kulten', p. 47.

[10] Borgehammar, 'Den latinske Sunnivalegenden', pp. 142–43; Rekdal, 'Legenden', p. 110; Johnsen, 'Når slo Sunniva-kulten', pp. 51–55.

island of Kinn (Kyn or Kin). They lived in caves, sustaining life by fishing and serving Christ in moderation, poverty, chastity, and an altogether holy life. However, they were persecuted again by heathens from the mainland asking Håkon Ladejarl (Haquinus de Ladum, reigning in Norway at the time) to kill them. Accepting their demand, he brought an army with him to the island, but the holy people went into their caves praying to God to grant them eternal peace and a grave under falling stones. This happened, and the tyrant and all the heathens were surprised not to find God's holy people.

After some time Håkon was killed, the Christian King Olav Tryggvason assumed power in Norway, and the Norwegians became Christians through the agency of Bishop Sigurd (Sigwardus or Siguardus). At the same time, merchants discovered a column of clear light shining all the way to the heavens. They found a human head flashing and emitting a sweet odour. They took the head with them, bringing it to Trondheim where they found the King. Being heathen, they were converted by the King's sermon and baptized. They told the King about the light and the head and showed the head which the Bishop then laid to rest with great veneration among the relics of saints. Summoned by the Bishop, the King then sailed to the island with a large group of the faithful. They found bones with a sweet odour, and a church was built there and consecrated.

The legend concludes by mentioning that God has made signs and miracles happen until the present day. While gathering together the bones of the saints they discovered the entire body of the blessed virgin and martyr Sunniva which was put in a shrine with great honour in the year 996. After much time, the relics of the St Sunniva were translated by Bishop Paul from the island of Selja to the city of Bergen in 1170 and placed in the cathedral of this city on 7 September. The Bishop is referred to as deceased in the legend; therefore it cannot have been completed in this form before 1194, the year of his death.[11]

Cultural Memory and the Cult of Saints

Following this brief presentation of the medieval legend and cult of St Sunniva, I shall proceed to a general discussion of the cult of saints in the perspective of the concept of cultural memory as this has been defined and discussed especially in publications by Jan (and Aleida) Assmann, before returning again to the topic of this paper.[12]

[11] Borgehammar, 'Den latinske Sunnivalegenden', p. 274.

[12] The presentation and discussion of the Assmanns' notion of cultural memory and its applicability to medieval liturgy here is based upon a similar discussion in Nils Holger

In the view of the Assmanns, cultural memory is not, strictly speaking, a memory:

> Through the concept of the cultural memory we take a large step beyond the individual who — after all — alone has a memory in a proper sense. Neither the group nor the culture 'has' a memory in this sense. To speak in such terms would be a flagrant mystification. Persons continue to be the sole carriers of memory. What this is about is the question to what extent this individual memory is determined socially and culturally.[13]

In a society or a part of a society, various physical as well as mental repositories for what it generally accepts as the most indispensable historical, religious, and/or ideological background for its identity are often established and in some way institutionalized. In modern societies such institutions abound: libraries, archives, museums, theatres, concert halls, the public media, including also institutions of various religious communities; educational institutions and the teaching curricula, as well as research carried out in such contexts, also perform similar functions. In part, they all provide authority to the selection of privileged historical memories and items connected to these memories, and in part, they contribute revisions of these choices along the way and thus ensure that the cultural memory in a modern society is not only relatively stable and well defined so as to be functional in the society, but it may also be reconsidered and changed along the way so that it also becomes possible to adapt the cultural memory to new situations and sometimes to provide new significations. Precisely the complexity — and flexibility — which makes it possible to revise what should be considered the privileged and particularly important memory adds to the significance of the cultural memory and in such a way further confirms its societal importance. Thus, the cultural memory reaches

Petersen, 'Il Doge and Easter Processions at San Marco in Early Modern Venice', in *Transfer and Spaces*, ed. by G. Dharampal-Frick, R. Langer, and N. H. Petersen, vol. v of *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, ed. by Axel Michaels and others (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), pp. 301–11 (see pp. 305–06).

[13] 'Mit dem Begriff des kulturellen Gedächtnisses gehen wir noch einmal einen großen Schritt hinaus über das Individuum, das doch allein ein Gedächtnis im eigentlichen Sinne hat. Weder die Gruppe, noch gar die Kultur "hat" in diesem Sinne ein Gedächtnis. So zu reden, wäre eine unzulässige Mystifikation. Nach wie vor ist der Mensch der einzige Träger des Gedächtnisses. Worum es geht, ist die Frage, in welchem Umfang dieses einzelne Gedächtnis sozial und kulturell determiniert ist'. Jan Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck, 2005; first published, 1992), p. 19.

far into cultural as well as individual practices and may be manifested also in imaginative creations emphasizing partly new understandings of the collectively privileged past.

In Western cultures, the biblical narratives, reinterpreted again and again with changing emphases, have constituted an important part of the cultural memory in every society, even for modern completely secularized subgroups, since so much biblical material has been received into laws, literature, and other cultural artefacts, and has also been individually transmitted in the form of well-known narratives and figures to be used or referred to in very broad contexts. The same is true for later figures connected to these narratives and the history of Christianity in general, including, not least, the history of those who were remembered as significant holy figures, models for later Christians, the saints and the narratives pertaining to their lives and deaths. Such narratives and figures form (part of) a framework for understanding history, politics, and individual morality in societies and groups, although, of course, many differences exist concerning what this framework means and how it should be used; smaller societal groups may exist or be constructed within which this part of the cultural memory may work in more unified ways, particularly suited to the views of these groups individually.

For Jan Assmann, the concept of cultural memory is combined with a historiographical construct in which interpretation gradually took over the historical functions of ritual. According to Assmann's view, in early oral cultures, rituals constituted forms of cultural memory based on repetition, carrying out the very same ceremonial actions again and again, upon which society and its cohesion depended. This, however, was gradually substituted as interpretation and reinterpretation of texts in written cultures came to the fore:

> In connection with the writing down of traditions, a gradual transition takes place from the dominance of repetition to the dominance of actualization, from a 'ritual' to a 'textual coherence'. In that way a new connective structure has been established. Its connective power is not imitation and conservation but interpretation and memory. Hermeneutics replaces liturgy.[14]

[14] 'Im Zusammenhang mit dem Schriftlichwerden von Überlieferungen vollzieht sich ein allmählicher Übergang von der Dominanz der Wiederholung zur Dominanz der Vergegenwärtigung, von "ritueller" zu "textueller Kohärenz". Damit ist eine neue konnektive Struktur entstanden. Ihre Bindekräfte heißen nicht Nachahmung und Bewahrung, sondern Auslegung und Erinnerung. An die Stelle der Liturgie tritt die Hermeneutik'. Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis*, p. 18.

The complexity of medieval liturgy, where ritual function and hermeneutics have supplemented each other, and where the textual changes in liturgical ceremonies over the centuries bear witness to the importance of interpretation and of the influence of changing theological views, provides an important supplement to such a scheme, although it must be pointed out that Jan Assmann claims that all rituals have a double function, one of repetition and one of actualization.[15] On the one hand, the history of Christian liturgy, and thus also the history of the cult of saints, shows a stable repetition — over long periods of time — of a liturgical structure, filled with the same music and text, emphasizing a fundamental belief in sacred, numinous presence in the rituals. On the other hand, seen in a perspective of several hundred years, the changes that did occur in terms of liturgical structures, and even more in terms of textual and musical changes, attest to the importance of gradual reinterpretation and the influence of revisions of a cultural memory also concerning the celebration of the main feasts of the year, and also including the saints' feasts. What is important to maintain is that revision, interpretation, and reinterpretation in the context of medieval liturgy was not in opposition to notions of the sacred or the holy, or to the idea of divine presence in the ceremonies, or in the relics. It is well known that the establishing of the Christian Bible happened alongside the establishment of a Christian cult and to a high extent also by way of interpreting the traditional scriptures of Judaism in what became the New Testament. Ideas of sacred presence in actual devotional assemblies was sometimes pointed out through textual typology as, for instance, in the universal Western use of the antiphon *Terribilis est locus iste* — taken from the narrative of Jacob at Beth-el (Gen. 28. 17) — for the introit to the Dedication Mass for a church during the Middle Ages.[16]

The history of medieval discourse concerning the Eucharistic elements is another case in point. In the ninth century two monks, Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus (both from the Benedictine monastery of Corbie), wrote treatises about how to understand the body and blood of the Lord in the Eucharist.[17] The different emphases of these two treatises (real presence as opposed to spiritual signification) became a starting point for complex intellectual and ecclesiastical discussions over the next centuries concerning the nature of the Eucharistic elements. Main points in this narrative are the ecclesiastical denunciations of Berengar of Tours, in the second half of the eleventh

[15] Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis*, p. 17.

[16] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 45.

[17] Both treatises were transmitted under the title of *De corpore et sanguine Domini*.

century, who carried further the spiritualizing understanding of Ratramnus, and also the new 'systematic' theological deliberations by the early scholastic theologians of the twelfth century, and the final codification of the dogma of transubstantiation at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, at a time when this dogma in reality had been not only generally accepted but also enforced for a long time. During these centuries and to a high degree, intellectual energy was invested in interpreting and coming to terms with the difficulties in applying the traditional Augustinian understanding of sacraments as signs pointing to divine — spiritual — realities beyond the senses to the equally traditional understanding of the Eucharist as a ritual event in which Christ was efficaciously present. This had never been resolved previously, and it took centuries to arrive at a (more or less) generally accepted theoretical understanding of it. The interpretative differences concerning the way in which Christ was present, however, did not affect the ritual of the Eucharist. Berengar of Tours and his opponent Lanfranc of Canterbury in the eleventh century as well as Ratramnus and Paschasius Radbertus in the ninth century all must have participated in the same Eucharistic liturgy; the canon of the Mass was basically unchanged from the late eighth century to the *Missale Romanum* of 1570 and beyond. Ritual repetition and intellectual interpretation did not interfere with one another in this case. And no one rejected the sacredness of the ritual event whatever intellectual understanding was being promoted.[18] The problem can be described as an ambivalence in the cultural memory of the Eucharist: whether to put priority on the ritual or the textual coherence.[19]

A similar ambivalence is detectable in the history of the cults of saints although manifested in a very different way. Saints were men and women who had been holy persons in their lives and were recognized as such through the experience or memory of their lives, their deaths, and/or events after their deaths which would convince the church of their holiness. The following statement by Peter Brown is about holy men among Christians of late Antiquity:

[18] Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino against Berengar of Tours* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 1–121; Nils Holger Petersen, 'Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual, and the Question of "Liturgical Drama"', in *Sapientia et Eloquentia*, ed. by Gunilla Iversen and Nicolas Bell, Disputatio, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 163–201 (esp. 174–81). See also Nils Holger Petersen, 'Introduction', in *Resonances: Historical Essays on Continuity and Change*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Eyolf Østrem, and Andreas Bücker, Ritus et Artes, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 1–19 (esp. 3–8).

[19] Petersen, 'Introduction', p. 6.

> They made the Christian God present in their own age and locality; and they did so to such an extent that disbelief came to focus less on the existence of the Christian God so much as on his willingness to lavish on a distant human race — and especially on the unkempt inhabitants of one's own region — the crowning mercy of palpable human agents of His will.[20]

Obviously, and similar to the relation with biblical narratives, after some generations no one could have an individual memory of saintly or holy persons, or what Jan Assmann denotes as a communicative memory of them: the extension of the individual memory, that is, what is 'remembered' through individual and/or indirect communication with contemporaries with a living memory of the events or persons in question.[21] In such — most common — cases, the cultural memory of the saint, and of sainthood as a whole, provides the framework within which the cult of the saint in question is perceived, transmitted, and sometimes reshaped. What for modern critically minded interpreters simply appears as pious unhistorical creativity or fantasy in much of the medieval culting of saints and/or relics may better be understood within the framework of cultural memory. How this memory changes over time is necessarily extremely complicated and difficult to explicate in detail. However, in the case of the cults of saints, the dialectic between liturgical or ritual event and critical interpretative textual cogency, between sacred experience and critical hermeneutics, indicates two poles between which the cultural memory of a particular group is negotiated through complex interactions between authorities and individuals.

A brief — and well-known — characterization of the Christian cult of saints was given by St Augustine in his treatise against Faustus the Manichean, *Contra Faustum*:

> Populus autem christianus memorias martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebrat, et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur: ita tamen ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in memoriis martyrum, constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum assistens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi, Petre; aut, Paule; aut, Cypriane: sed quod offertur, offertur Deo qui martyres coronavit, apud memorias eorum quos coronavit; ut ex ipsorum locorum admonitione major affectus exsurgat, ad acuendam charitatem et in illos quos imitari possumus, et in illum quo adjuvante possumus. Colimus ergo martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum cor ad talem pro evangelica veritate pas-

[20] Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (1995; Canto edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 58.

[21] Jan Assmann, *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis* (2000; repr. München: Beck, 2004), pp. 50–51.

> sionem paratum esse sentimus. Sed illos tanto devotius, quanto securius post certamina superata: quanto etiam fidentiore laude praedicamus, jam in vita feliciore victores, quam in ista adhuc usque pugnantes.[22]
>
> [It is true that Christians pay religious honor to the memory of the martyrs, both to excite us to imitate them and to obtain a share in their merits, and the assistance of their prayers. But we build altars not to any martyr, but to the God of martyrs, although it is to the memory of the martyrs. No one officiating at the altar in the saints' burying-place ever says, We bring an offering to you, O Peter! or O Paul! or O Cyprian! The offering is made to God, who gave the crown of martyrdom, while it is in memory of those thus crowned. The emotion is increased by the associations of the place, and love is excited both towards those who are our examples, and towards Him by whose help we may follow such examples. We regard the martyrs with the same affectionate intimacy that we feel towards holy men of God in this life, when we know that their hearts are prepared to endure the same suffering for the truth of the gospel. There is more devotion in our feeling towards the martyrs, because we know that their conflict is over; and we can speak with greater confidence in praise of those already victors in heaven, than of those still combating here.][23]

The emphasis on memory, as well as on the connection between saints and holy men (or persons), underlines and deepens the above interpretation of sainthood and the cult of saints as influenced by the cultural memory within a Christian community. The expression 'populus christianus memorias martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebrat', literally, 'the Christian people celebrates the memories of martyrs through religious observance', and the statements which reject the accusation that the cult of saints should be idolatrous — polemically turned against Faustus — underline that the martyrs are not themselves the object of offerings. It is the (cultural) memories of deeds, holy lives, and places that excite devotion and imitation of their good deeds among Christians, also because they exemplify, and thus point toward, what it means to be truly faithful. Seen in a perspective of cultural memory, the culting of saints interacts with the pre-knowledge of the faithful, strengthening what is already present in them. Just as the holy men — according to the above-quoted statement by Peter Brown — made God present in the present time and local-

[22] S. Aurelius Augustinus, *Contra Faustum*, XX.21 (*PL*, XLII, cols 0384–0385). See St Augustine of Hippo, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum libri triginta tres*, Patrologia Latina Database, vol. XLII, <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk/> [accessed 30 June 2008].

[23] Translation quoted from St Augustine of Hippo, 'Reply to Faustus the Manichean' (copyright Kevin Knight 2008), at the Catholic website New Advent under the heading 'The Fathers of the Church', <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/index.html> [accessed 2 July 2008].

ity of the observer, so the cult in memory of the saint does the same, except that the manifestation of the saint takes place through a memory which normally will be a cultural memory rather than an individual or communicative memory. According to Augustine, this is an advantage because it allows for more confidence in the praise than would be possible for someone still alive and fighting his or her way in this life.

A possible reading of this advantage of the praise of a saint in comparison to that of a living holy person is that the greater distance enhances the impact of the general cultural memory of the concept of sainthood for the faithful. The perception of the saint is less likely to be overshadowed by incidental impressions: it will be guided by church doctrine to a higher degree.

Gunilla Iversen has provided insights into the construction of the Office of St Olav (the Norwegian royal saint martyred in 1030) which very concretely demonstrate how general ideals of (royal) sainthood contributed to the formation of a communal memory of St Olav through the writing of consecutively new offices. Iversen concludes:

> In the first step of establishing the king as a saint, it seems clear that the most important issue was not to write new texts, but rather to make the right choice of texts previously used for the celebration of well-established and prestigious royal saints. Evidently not until a century later, when St. Olav himself had won an indisputable position as a saint and his cult had become an important factor for the new cathedral of Nidaros as a pilgrimage site, was it essential to have a special Office with new proper texts for the saint, the *Passio et miracula*, and to retain only those texts from the early Office which mentioned Olav by name.[24]

It seems that what had to take place in this case was to let the general idea of a saint erase the individual — or communicative — memories of King Olav in order to give place to the cultural memory of St Olav.

St Sunniva and Cultural Memory

The employment of a saintly figure from far away, even a possibly imagined saintly figure from a distant country as was St Sunniva, provides a straightforward case for the construction of a saint out of a cultural memory of saintliness. This should not be seen as cynicism; it seems likely that such a construction

[24] Gunilla Iversen, 'Transforming a Viking into a Saint: The Divine Office of St. Olav', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 401–29 (p. 421).

would have arisen from creative imagination based on the criteria, models, and sensibilities shaped within the framework constituted by the cultural memory of the community or culture in question. In the case of Sunniva, we are dealing with the beginning of a medieval Christian culture in eleventh-century Norway where it was of importance to establish a Christian cultural memory. Having recently converted and become part of Latin Christendom whose musico-poetic liturgical culture was obviously foreign to the early generations of Norwegian Christians, this culture now came to be central for Christian Norwegian medieval society in the centuries which followed.

It is unlikely that we shall ever know anything definite about the historical basis for the legend and cult of St Sunniva and the holy men and women at Selja. Regardless of this, however, the legend and the cult as we know of them preserved fundamental — not local — cultural memories of sainthood, together with a local knowledge that such saintliness came from far away and had to be imported into Norway. The imagined pious reign of Sunniva in Ireland, and her faithful followers, provided Norway with a cultural memory of fundamental Christian piety and saintliness which probably no Norwegian saint could have done in a similar way.

We do not know when the rhymed Office for St Sunniva was written, and no music has been preserved for this. It was presumably compiled at some time between the twelfth and the fifteenth century within the general Continental classical Christian framework of understanding of the cults of saints. The second antiphon for First Vespers is as follows:

> Ex hybernis proscriberis
> dum pro fide catholica
> tu cum tuis zelaris
> fac nos fermenti veteris
> extorres: deo supplica
> que tot auxiliaries.[25]
>
> [You are banned from the Irish, while for your general faith you are loved ardently together with your followers. Exiled, bring us of the old ferment. Pray to God that you will bring so much help.]

The faithful exiled one brings the old ferment to the Norwegian Christians, possibly the ferment of old Christian faith and lifestyle which could help trans-

[25] 'Af Breviarium Nidrosiense' (Excerpts from Breviarium Nidrosiense), in *Latinske Kildeskrifter til Norges historie i middelalderen*, ed. by Gustav Storm (Kristiania: A. W. Brøgger, 1880), pp. 283–89 (p. 283); *AH*, XIII, 233.

form the newly converted into a firmly rooted part of Christendom. This idea still formed part of cultural memory concerning sainthood, even as late as at the dawn of the Reformation, when the *Breviarium Nidrosiense* and the *Missale Nidrosiense* were both printed in 1519 with the intention to remedy liturgical disorder within the province.[26] The saintly ideals are those of the traditional ascetics, enduring hardship without complaint and leaving behind all comfort, as in the following responsory and versicle from the Second Nocturns of the Office:

Olim vestita mollibus
Sunniua: cum familia
Post hec ciliciata.
In quam iactis lapidibus
Ex inaudita furia
Gens seuit insensata.

Versiculus:
Virgo degit sub rupibus
In fama voluntaria
Et carne macerata.[27]

[Sunniva, once dressed in fine clothes: afterwards with her community in goat's hair. Against this community, while stones were falling, the people raged with an irrational anger unheard of. V. The Virgin endured under the rocks in voluntary ill-repute and exhausted in her body.]

The antiphons for Lauds recount miracles performed by Sunniva after her martyrdom, and the Office ends — at Second Vespers — with the following Magnificat antiphon which, once again, emphasizes the theme of (far-off) Irish saintliness which came to Norway:

Ex hybernis superna bonitas
sanctos misit per maris semitas
vnde nobis fidei veritas
crescit: cessat erroris secitas.[28]

[Heavenly goodness sent saints from the Irish by the path of the ocean from where the truth of faith increased for us: the blindness of error ceased.]

[26] Eyolf Østrem, *The Office of Saint Olav: A Study in Chant Transmission*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Musicologica Upsaliensis, n.s., 18 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2001), pp. 25–26 and 240–41.

[27] 'Af Breviarium Nidrosiense', pp. 286–87; *AH*, XIII, 234.

[28] 'Af Breviarium Nidrosiense', p. 289; *AH*, XIII, 235.

Conclusion and a Footnote about St Olav

An interesting detail concerning the celebration of St Olav in Iceland, far away from Trondheim, may bring yet another aspect to the idea of the cultural memory of sainthood in the medieval province of Nidaros. The surviving information concerning the cult of St Olav in the *ON* is surprising: Lilli Gjerløw refers to the 'scrappy treatment' of Norway's patron saint and 'rex perpetuus' because of the lack of a more complete Office for the Translation of St Olav (3 August). Only a commemoration is indicated in the *ON*, and since Lilli Gjerløw's reconstruction of a *liber ordinarius* for the province — as previously mentioned — is based essentially on Icelandic manuscripts, it seems well founded enough to imagine, as does Gjerløw, that Nidaros Cathedral 'most probably had its own celebrations, not reflected in the ON'.[29]

Conversely, and even more surprising, is that during all three Rogation days (immediately before Ascension day), the *ON* specifies that the 'scrinium beati martiris Olaui' be carried along in the procession. Since the manuscript basis for this is purely Icelandic, it is not quite obvious why this was written into the manuscripts. It could be, of course, that the remark simply occurred through the copying of a manuscript with a Trondheim provenance where it would have been natural. However, since the Icelandic manuscripts, as just mentioned, do not in other ways merely reflect the customs of the Cathedral of Trondheim, this does not seem to be a convincing explanation. I have previously interpreted it as symbolic copying of a practice that — strictly speaking — could only have been a local Nidaros practice, but one for which only Icelandic sources still survive today.[30]

In Icelandic cathedrals there would, of course, have been no access to the shrine of St Olav. It was most likely substituted by some other relic symbolizing the saint and his shrine; there is no difficulty in imagining how the procession could have functioned. What is interesting is to see such a symbolic practice in the light of the functions which Rome and Jerusalem had in medieval liturgical symbolism, as outlined by Angelus A. Häussling many years ago: in such a light it becomes possible that an Icelandic cathedral might have been seen to repre-

[29] *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, ed. by Gjerløw, 'Introduction', pp. 27–128; ibid., p. 375. Cf. note 2 above.

[30] Nils Holger Petersen, 'Understanding Medieval Chant and Liturgy', in *Gregorian Chant and Medieval Music*, ed. by Audun Dybdahl, Ola Kai Ledang, and Nils Holger Petersen (Trondheim: Tapir, 1998), pp. 139–50 (pp. 146–47); Petersen, 'Baptismal Practices', pp. 294–95; *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, ed. by Gjerløw, pp. 249–50.

sent the Cathedral of Trondheim with its shrine of St Olav in a way similar to how monasteries were seen as a monastic city or a Rome in the Carolingian era.[31]

Such a strong symbolic Nidaros — or Olav — presence in the province is another element of a cultural memory of sainthood. If the interpretation given here is accepted, the presence of relics of St Olav provided a symbolic identification between Nidaros — the faraway medieval Trondheim, as seen from Iceland — and the peripheral site of the relic in question. In such a way, the medieval city of Nidaros would have been part of the cultural memory that constituted the framework for understanding St Olav. Since the saint had originally been translated into the church which was later replaced by the consecutive cathedrals of medieval Nidaros, this identification represents an addition to his cultural memory. St Olav becomes so closely connected to his resting place that it seems impossible to detach the two from one another. In a similar way, St Sunniva, who was identified as a faraway Irish saint, was also identified as a saint from Selja in such a way that even the inscribing of her translation to the Cathedral of Bergen in 1170 into her legend neither detached her from her Irish — distant — saintliness nor from her original resting place close to her martyrdom.

Thus, not only the narrative details of the legend of a saint seem to be of importance for his or her identity, but also other parts connected to the story of the saint, even after the martyrdom, may become part of his or her cultural memory affecting the perception of the cult for centuries.

[31] Angelus A. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier: Eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Messhäufigkeit*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 58 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973), pp. 99–100.

Offices of the Saints

Continental Sources

Omnes sancti chori Hiberniae sanctorum orate pro nobis: Manuscript Evidence for the Cult of Irish Saints in Medieval Europe

Jean-Michel Picard

The town library of Vendôme in the Loire region has an important collection of beautifully decorated liturgical manuscripts. One of them contains an interesting mention of a first-class Mass for St Colum Cille, which is a rare occurrence in Europe. This manuscript, Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 16, is a missal copied in AD 1457 for the abbey of the Holy Trinity in Vendôme. In the kalendar (fols 155^{r}–160^{v}), on folio 157^{v}, the feast of Colum Cille is included at the correct date of 9 June. A superscript addition indicates that it is a major feast, to be celebrated in twelve lessons and *in cappis*, which is the highest class in this missal. However, the lessons are not given in full, and a closer look at the incipit of the lessons reveals that, instead of being specific to Colum Cille, they belong to the common of confessors, abbots, and martyrs.

fol. 157^{v} xii lc̃ fest. ī cap~
Junius F iiiii Id~. Sancti Columbe abb̃.

fol. 198^{v} In die sancti Columbe abbatis
Os justi
Oratio: *Intercessio nos quaesumus*
Epistola: *Iustum deduxit*

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R[esponsorium]: *Iustus ut palma*
Alleluia: *Iustum deduxit*, si necesse sit, ut[ere] Alleluia: *Iustus germinabit*
Sequencia: *Adest namque*
Evangelium: *Nemo lucernam*
Offertorium: *Veritas*, cum utroque uersum
Sanctus: *Agnus Dei.*
Secreta: *Sacrificium nostrum tibi Domine*
Communio: *Magna est*
Postcommunio[nem]: *Protegat nos Domine*

On the one hand, the lack of specific data concerning the Irish saint reflects the situation in fifteenth-century France, where the cult of Colum Cille had practically disappeared. But, on the other hand, the commemoration of the saint *in cappis* supposes an older tradition — and manuscript exemplars — where Colum Cille was celebrated as an important saint.

The geographical origin of Vendôme MS 16 is not known, but it has been suggested that it was probably written in western France. This is quite possible since we have evidence that the cult of Colum Cille was alive in that region between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, mostly in Breton circles. For example, in the tenth-century sacramentary of Saint-Aubin at Angers (now Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 91), the Holy Saturday litany celebrates Colum Cille, but also Patrick and Columbanus, in a list which, in addition, includes Breton saints such as Malo of Alet, Gildas of Rhuys, and Guénolé of Landévennec.

fol. 132^{v}

S[ancte] Vedaste or[a pro nobis]	*S̃ Audoene oř*
	S̃ Severine oř
S̃ Columbe oř	*S̃ Columbane oř*
S̃ Benedicte oř	*[...]*
S̃ Benedicte oř	*S̃ Macuti oř*
[...]	*[...]*
S̃ Austregissile oř	*S̃ Lannomare oř*
S̃ Amande oř	*S̃ Macharii oř*
S̃ Audomare oř	*S̃ Paterne oř*
S̃ Albine oř	*S̃ Gildasse oř*
S̃ Philiberte oř	*S̃ UUinualoci oř*
[...]	*Omnes sancti confessores Dei or[ate pro nobis]*
S̃ Patrici oř	

We have no evidence for the early cult of Irish saints in Brittany, and it is not clear whether the cults of Patrick, Brigit, and Colum Cille were introduced through direct contacts with Ireland or through links with Britain or northern France, where the cult of these saints had developed in the seventh and eighth centuries. However, regardless of the beginnings and circumstances of its origin, the celebration of Irish saints in Breton monastic circles is well attested in manuscripts predating the Scandinavian invasion of the 920s and the subsequent massive exodus of Breton communities into Frankish territories. A good example is the psalter written in Brittany around the year 900, which is now preserved in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury (MS 180). It was probably brought to England by one of the many Breton clerics attending the court of King Athelstan in the early 930s. This manuscript contains both the Gallican Psalter and the Psalter *iuxta Hebraeos*, as well as a series of litanies. The litany of confessors on fol. 171^{v} includes an impressive list of Breton saints, but also the names of Patrick, Colum Cille, and Columbanus.

fol. 171^{v}

Sancte Paterne	*Sancte Munna*
Sancte Melani	*Sancte Guidnoue*
Sancte Samson	*Sancte Gulhuinne*
Sancte Gilda	*Sancte Conocane*
Sancte Brioce	*Sancte Iliaue*
Sancte Caoce	*Sancte Hoeiardone*
Sancte Macloue	*Sancte Hoeiarnuiue*
Sancte Meuinne	*Sancte Toconoce*
Sancte Iudicaele	*Sancte Hoeargnoue*
Sancte Tutguale	*Sancte Iahoiue*
Sancte Paule	*Sancte Tearnmaile*
Sancte Guidguale	***Sancte Patrici***
Sancte Guengualoe	***Sancte Columcille***
Sancte Courentine	*Sancte Augustine*
Sancte Leutierne	*Sancte Dauid*
Sancte Guenleue	*Sancte Theodore*
Sancte Ediunete	*Sancte Laurenti*

Sancte Iunanaue	*Sancte Cutbercte*
Sancte Iudoce	***Sancte Columbane***
Sancte Guinnoce	*Sancte Iltute*
Sancte Dircille	*Sancte Catoce*
Sancte Iarnhobri	*Sancte Brangualadre*
Sancte Bachla	*Omnes sancti confessores*

A similar list is found in a tenth-century manuscript from a Reims scriptorium copied by Jean Mabillon in the 1650s, but now lost.[1] Among the extensive list of Breton saints, the names of Patrick, Colum Cille, Brendan, and Brigit are also commemorated. The heyday of Breton expansion was in the ninth century, and in 863 the Emperor Charles the Bald officially conceded Mayenne and the western part of Anjou to the Breton King Solomon at the Treatise of Entrammes. It may not be fortuitous that this area, where the cult of Colum Cille was scarcely known, produced a short Life of that saint, derived from the full text of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*.[2] This version of the Life, which is quite independent of the copies produced in the German-speaking territories of the Frankish Empire, has been transmitted in two manuscripts: Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 217 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 5323, both dating from the twelfth century. Le Mans MS 217 contains beautifully illuminated initials, and the lesson concerning Colum Cille is found at the correct date of 9 June, after the passion of the martyrs Primus and Felician. BnF MS lat. 5323 is also decorated in a similar style, but the compiler seems to have known little about Colum Cille since, instead of placing the *Life of Columba* on 9 June, he inserted it among the saints of July between the *Passion of St Felix* and the *Passion of the martyrs Just and Pastor*. He probably mistook our Columba for St Columba of Sens, the Spanish female saint who was the object of a widespread veneration in France and was celebrated on 28 July. It would seem that by the end of the twelfth century, the inclusion of the *Life of Columba* in a western French legendary was already a reflection of the past, with little significance for the compilers. However, the exemplar used for these two manuscripts was a full version of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, a rare occurrence on the Continent. Apart from the original codex written by

[1] J. Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, 4 vols (Paris: apud Ludovicum Billaine, 1675–85), II, 669.

[2] For the diffusion of the *Vita Columbae* on the Continent, see J.-M. Picard, 'Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* and the Cult of Colum Cille in Continental Europe', *PRIA*, 98 C (1998), 1–23.

Dorbbéne at Iona between 704 and 720 and now preserved in Switzerland at Schaffhausen,[3] there is only one other manuscript of this type, written in the ninth century by a scribe of the Reims scriptorium and now preserved at the Diocesan Library of Metz.[4]

Reims may have been an important centre for the diffusion of Irish saints' Lives originating from northern France. The Reims litany of Breton and Irish saints which we mentioned earlier reflects the interaction of Irish and Breton communities in the scriptoria of Carolingian Francia. In Liège, Laon, Soissons, Corbie, Fleury, Orléans, and Tours, Irish and Breton scribes worked together, and the fruit of their common labour can be seen in manuscripts which contain both Irish and Breton glosses or, even better, Breton glosses which are translations of earlier Irish material. Their association must have been close since their Continental colleagues saw little difference between the two groups and indiscriminately referred to them as *Scoti*. Ironically, the Anglo-Saxons were also put in the same category. The author of the *Life of Alcuin*, written around 825, relates an interesting anecdote which clearly shows how these scholars were perceived by some Continental clerics. When Alcuin was dying in Tours in 805–06, Aigulf, another Anglo-Saxon (*Aigulfus [...] Engelsaxo et ipse*), came to visit him and attracted the following remarks from local monks: 'This Breton or Irish (*Britto uel Scoto*) has come to visit that other Breton, who is lying down inside. O God, free this monastery from those Bretons, who all flock to that one, just like bees returning to the queen bee'.[5] But let us return to our manuscripts.

The scriptorium of Reims was probably founded by Archbishop Tilpinus in the third quarter of the eighth century, and it was fully developed at the time of Archbishop Hincmar (845–82). This was the time when the Metz manuscript of the *Vita Columbae* was copied from the Dorbbéne codex written in Iona. In the following generation Reims produced a copy of Cogitosus's *Life of Brigit* which is now the oldest complete manuscript of this Life (Reims,

[3] Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, MS Generalia 1; *CLA*, VII, 998.

[4] Metz, Bibliothèque diocésaine, 270.3, MS 1.

[5] 'Aigulfus praeterea presbiter, Engelsaxo et ipse, ad eundem patrem uisitandum Turonis uenit. Cumque ante ianuam eius domus coepisset adsistere, ecce quidam Turonensium fratrum, simul uidelicet quattuor iuncti, hunc respicientes putantesque nichil eum illorum de locutione scire, conloquebantur ad inuicem: "Venit iste Britto uel Scoto ad illum alterum Brittonem qui intus iacet. O Deus, libera istud monasterium de istis Brittonibus; nam sicut apes undique ad matrem reuertuntur, ita hi omnes ad istum ueniunt"'. See *Vita Alcuini*, ed. by Wilhelm Arndt, *MGH, Scriptores*, XV.1 (Hannover, 1887; repr. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963), pp. 182–97 (§ 18, p. 193).

Bibliothèque municipale, MS 296). Unlike the other patron saints of Ireland, Patrick and Colum Cille, for whom early Irish manuscripts have survived (the Dorbbéne Codex for Colum Cille and the Book of Armagh for Patrick),[6] there are no early manuscripts of the *Life of Brigit* that can be linked to Ireland. Reims MS 296 was compiled as a collection of female saints' Lives (*Liber de passionibus sanctarum uirginum*) and was given to the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Thierry outside Reims by a priest named Odelric. The text of the *Vita Brigitae* was copied from an exemplar coming from the area of Saint-Amand/Fosses/Nivelles where the cults of Patrick and Brigit developed in the circle of monasteries headed by the successors of Fursa, Foillan, and Ultán on the Irish side and, on the Frankish side, Amandus and Gertrud.[7] A fragment of the *Life of Brigit*, including the prologue, the table of chapters, and chapter 1, survives in a ninth-century manuscript from Saint-Amand (now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 2999, fols 36^{r}–40^{v}). We know from John Colgan that there was at least one other manuscript of the *Vita Brigitae* in Saint-Amand, which he used for his 1647 edition.[8] The text of the *Vita Brigitae* in Reims MS 296 was used by the compiler of Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1410, a twelfth-century legendary from the same abbey of Saint-Thierry. The first page of the Life on fol. 71^{r} is remarkable for its colour. Not only is the initial 'S' of *Sancta itaque Brigida* skilfully decorated, but the full table of chapters is coloured with a pattern of red initials alternating with blue initials. The same text was copied again in Reims in the thirteenth century for the abbey of Saint-Nicaise (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1411), showing a certain continuity in the interest for the Irish saint there. Meanwhile, the cult of Brigit had developed in Brittany, and there must have been a demand for hagiographical texts.

[6] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 52 (saec. VII–VIII).

[7] See J.-M. Picard, 'Church and Politics in the Seventh Century: The Irish Exile of King Dagobert II', in *Ireland and Northern France 600–850*, ed. by J.-M. Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1991), pp. 65–90.

[8] J. Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae, seu Divorum Patricci Columbae et Brigidae, trium Veteris et Majoris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae, Sanctorum Insulae, communium Patronorum Acta, Tomus Secundus Sacrarum ejusdem Insulae Antiquitatum* (Louvain: apud Cornelium Coenestenium, 1647; repr. Dublin: Edmund Burke, 1997), pp. 527–42. Mario Esposito, 'On the Earliest Latin Life of St Brigid of Kildare', *PRIA*, 30 C (1912), 307–26 (pp. 313–15), erroneously states that BnF MS lat. 2999 was the Saint-Amand codex used by Colgan for his edition of Cogitosus's Life in *Triadis thaumaturgae acta*. There are several differences between the two texts, the most significant being the mention of *Conlehet*, corrected to *Conlehat* in BnF MS lat. 2999 while Colgan's source omitted the name of the bishop.

We know Brigit was celebrated in Landévennec from the *Comes* of the ninth-century Gospel Book of Landévennec, now one of the De Ricci manuscripts in the New York Public Library.[9] A similar entry is found in another gospel book from Landévennec, written around the year 900 and taken on a long journey through Picardy and Flanders before finally arriving at Exeter in the eleventh century, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[10] The textual tradition of the western French manuscripts of the *Vita Brigitae* reflects the increased movement of people and texts in the tenth century. A remarkable example is the manuscript Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 331, dating from around AD 1000. It is a collection of saints' Lives which formerly belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire,[11] and is related to the Gallican legendaries originating in the Maine-Anjou region. However, the compilers used two versions of Cogitosus's *Vita Brigitae*. The main text is based on a version close to the Reims and Saint-Amand codices mentioned above, but the interlinear corrections show that a manuscript of the Cambrai/Echternach type was used at Fleury. The presence of Breton scholars at Fleury-sur-Loire is well attested, not least through the Breton glosses they left in manuscripts used or copied there.[12] The Breton connection may explain how Cogitosus's *Vita Brigitae* was included in one of the manuscripts copied at the abbey of Saint-Serge at Angers in the twelfth century (Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 807). It is a beautifully decorated lectionary which contains the *Vita Brigitae* (fols 6^{v}–15^{r}) and the Life of the Breton saint Gwenolé (*Vita sancti Guingualoei*). The scriptorium of Saint-Serge also produced a copy of the *Life of St Fursa* in the eleventh century (now Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1381).

The *Vita Fursei* is found at folios 133^{v}–139^{r}. It is very likely that another Rouen manuscript (Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1384), also from the eleventh century, comes from the same region in western France. In this

[9] New York, Public Library, MS De Ricci 115; see R. Morey, E. K. Rand, and C. H. Kraeling, *The Gospel Book of Landévennec (the Harkness Gospels) in the New York Public Library* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931).

[10] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D. 2. 16 (saec. IX–X), fol. 179^{r}: 'Mens Februarius. Die Kalendarum earundem. Natalis sanctae Brigidae uirginis' (available online at <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msauctd216>).

[11] See E. Pellegrin, 'Notes sur quelques recueils de vies de saints utilisés pour la liturgie à Fleury-sur-Loire au XIe siècle', *Bulletin d'Information de l'IRHT*, 12 (1963), 7–30 (pp. 15–16).

[12] J. Loth, 'Les gloses bretonnes d'Orléans', *Revue Celtique*, 5 (1881–83), 104–15; J. Loth 'Gloses bretonnes inédites du IXe siècle', *Revue Celtique*, 33 (1912), 417–31; M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1989).

manuscript both Brigit (fols 230^{v}–240^{r}) and Fursa (fols 135^{r}–143^{r}) are celebrated. In terms of transmission of the original Irish lore, Brigit fared better than Colum Cille. We saw at the beginning of this paper how the Irish context was eliminated in the Mass in honour of Colum Cille found in Vendôme MS 16, to the extent that the identity of the saint is hardly recognizable. In the liturgical manuscripts that include a celebration of Brigit, the main source text is Cogitosus's *Vita Brigitae* and the passages chosen are usually taken from the beginning and the end of the Life, which are rich in references to Ireland and Kildare. A good example is the fifteenth-century breviary of Piacenza, which is now preserved in the British Library, London (MS Harley 3863). The Mass for St Brigit, in six lessons, is found on folio 18$^{r–v}$, correctly included between the Office of St Hyppolitus of Antioch (30 January) and the Mass of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (2 February). The collect clearly refers to Brigit, and the text of the lessons follows closely the preface and the first chapters of Cogitosus's *Vita Brigitae* (see text in the Appendix below).

Conclusion

In a previous paper I have shown that the cult of Colum Cille was linked to Irish activity in specific areas on the Continent and that the decline of his cult from the mid-twelfth century onwards is due not only to a thinner Irish presence but to the negative propaganda against Ireland, no more a land of saints and scholars but a barbaric wilderness to be conquered and tamed.[13] Long before Giraldus Cambrensis, Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) had already expressed his low opinion of the Irish: how could such a land of savages and pagans have produced holy men like Malachy of Armagh or the great saints of the fifth and sixth centuries? Beyond circles with Irish connections, the figure of Colum Cille slowly lost its appeal, and the lack of reference to his life and persona in the Missal of Vendôme seems to bear this out. However, the cult of Irish saints survived in areas where it had become part of the living traditions of other people. I have emphasized here the Breton connection and shown how these cults could flourish when supported by communities who had adopted Patrick, Brigit, Colum Cille, Columbanus, and Brendan as their own. However, it must be pointed out that the cult of Brigit had soon become universal — mostly because of the powers over fertility and lactation attributed to her — and copies of her Lives were made until the end of the Middle Ages throughout Europe

[13] Picard, 'Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*'.

from Brittany to Bohemia and down to Benevento and Naples. The cult of Fursa also had universal appeal, because of the tradition of his visions, and even became more widespread when Purgatory became an important issue in the twelfth century. Cults are living organisms: they are not static, and each generation has to ensure that the tradition is preserved and cherished by their successors. This is just as valid now as it was throughout the Middle Ages.

Appendix

Mass of Saint Brigit in the diocese of Piacenza London, British Library, MS Harley 3863 (saec. XV), fol. 18^{r-v}	**Cogitosus, *Vita Brigitae* (ed. *AASS*, Feb. 1, 135–41)**
In Sanctae Brigidae uirginis oratio Omnipotens sempiternus Deus qui prudentium uirginum lampadibus oleo bonae conscienciae ornatis lumen tuae claritatis infundis, concede nobis propitius ut qui beatae Brigidae uirginis tuae natalitia colimus, a fatuarum consortio eius intercessionibus liberemur. Per …	
Haec sancta et Deo deuota egregiis crescens uirtutibus et fama bonarum rerum, ad eam de omnibus prouinciis totius Hiberniae innumerabiles populi de utroque sexu confluebant, uota sibi uouentes uoluntaria, suum monasterium capud paene omnium Hibernensium ecclesiarum et culmen praecellens omnia monasteria Scothorum, cuius parochia per totam Hibernensem terram diffusa a mari usque ad mare extensa est, in campestribus campi Liphei supra fundamentum fidei firmum construxit.	*Praef. 4* Haec ergo egregiis crescens uirtutibus et fama bonarum rerum, ad eam de omnibus prouintiis totius Hiberniae innumerabiles populi de utraque sexu confluentes et uota sibi uouentes uoluntarie, suum monasterium caput poene omnium Hybernensium ecclesiarum et culmen praecellens omnia monasteria Scothorum, cuius parrochia per totam Hybernensem terram defusa a mari usque ad mare extensa est, in campestribus campi Liffei supra fundamentum fidei firmum construxit.
Lectio secunda Ac prudenti dispensatione de animabus suorum regulariter in omnibus procurans et ecclesiis multarum prouinciarum sibi adherentibus solicitans et secum reuoluens quod sine sumo sacerdote qui ecclesias consecrasset et ecclesiasticos in eis gradus subrogaret esse non posset, illustrem uirum et solitarium nomine Coleth omnibus moribus bonis ornatus, per quem Deus uirtutes operatus est plurimas, conuocans eum de heremo et de suauitate solitaria et in ipsius obuiam praesens, ut ecclesiam in episcopali dignitate cum ea gubernaret atque ut nichil de ordine sacerdotali in suis deesset ecclesiis accersiuit.	*Praef. 5* Et prudenti dispensatione de animabus suorum regulariter in omnibus procurans et de ecclesiis multarum prouintiarum sibi adhaerentibus sollicitans et secum reuoluens quod sine summo sacerdote qui ecclesias consecraret et ecclesiasticos in eis gradus subrogaret esse non posset, inlustrem uirum et solitarium Conlehet omnibus moribus bonis ornatum, per quem Deus uirtutes operatus est plurimas, conuocans eum de heremo et de sua uita solitaria et in ipsius obuiam pergens, ut ecclesiam in episcopali dignitate cum ea gubernaret atque ut nihil de ordine sacerdotali in suis deesset ecclesiis accersiuit.

Mass of Saint Brigit in the diocese of Piacenza London, British Library, MS Harley 3863 (saec. XV), fol. 18^{r-v}	**Cogitosus, *Vita Brigitae* (ed. *AASS*, Feb. 1, 135–41)**
Lectio III Et sic postea unctum caput et principalis omnium episcoporum et beatissima puellarum principalis, felici comitatu inter se et gubernaculis omnium uirtutum suarum exerciuit principalem ecclesiam. Et amborum meritis sua cathedra episcopalis et puellaris acsi uitis frugiffera diffusa undique ramis crescentibus in tota Hibernensi insula inoleuit.	*Praef. 6* Et sic postea unctum caput et principalis omnium episcoporum et beatissima puellarum principalis, felici comitatu inter se et gubernaculis omnium uirtutum, suam rexerunt principalem ecclesiam; et amborum meritis sua cathedra episcopalis et puellaris acsi uitis frugefera diffusa undique ramis crescentibus in tota Hybernensi insula inoleuit, quam semper archiepiscopus Hybernensium episcoporum et abbatissa quam omnes abbatissae Scothorum uenerantur felici successione et ritu perpetuo dominantur. *Praef. 7* Exinde ego ut supradixi a fratribus coactus beatae huius Brigitae uirtutes tam eas quas ante principatum quam alias quas in principatu gessit tanto studio breuitatis licet praepostero ordine uirtutum compendiose explicare conabor.
Lectio IIII Nam semper archiepiscopus Hibernensium episcoporum et abbatissa Scothorum uenerantur felici successione et ritu perpetuo dominantur. Exinde ego ut supradixi a fratribus coactus tam beatae huius Brigidae uirtutes quas antequam abbatissa deueniret quam alias quae postea gessit tanto studio breuitatis licet praepostero ordine uirtutum compendiosse explicare conabor.	
Lectio V Sancta itaque Brigida quam Deus praesciuit ad suam ymaginem et praedistinauit a Christianis nobilibusque parentibus de bona ac prudentissima prosapia in Scothia orta patreque Dabtoch et matre Crocha genita a sua pueritia bonarum rerum studiis inoleuit. Electa enim ex Deo puella moribus sobrietatis ac pudicitiae plena in meliora semper crescebat.	*Ch. I, 1* Sancta itaque Brigita quam Deus praesciuit ad suam imaginem et praedistinauit a Christianis nobilibusque parentibus de bona ac prudentissima Ectech prosapia in Scothia orta patreque Dubtocho et matre Brocca genita a sua pueritia bonarum rerum studiis inoleuit. Electa enim ex Deo puella moribus sobrietatis ac pudicitiae plena in meliora semper crescebat.
Lectio VI Quadam die cum quidam ad eam salem petens ueniret sicut ceteri pauperes et egeni innumerabiles uenire solebant pro suis necessitatibus, ipsa beatissima Brigida in illa hora salem factum de lapide quem benedixit in opus poscentis sufficienter largita est. Et sic ab ea salem portans laetus propriam domum rediit.	*Ch. X, 1–2* Quadam enim die cum quidam ad eam salm petens ueniret sicut ceteri pauperes et egeni innumerabiles uenire solebant pro suis necessitatibus, ipsa beatissima Brigida in illa hora salem factum de lapide quem benedixit in opus poscentis sufficienter largita est. 2. Et sic ab ea salem portans laetus propriam domum rediit.
Euangelium. Ant. et reliqua, quere in officio communi uirginum.	

Songs for the *Peregrini*: Propers for Irish Saints in Continental Manuscripts

Sara G. Casey

Chant scholars have, for some time, wrestled with two seemingly disparate problems. The first is the apparent loss of much of the Gallican repertory that was suppressed in the reform of chant in the eighth and early ninth centuries. The second concerns the nature of the chant that was sung in Ireland before the twelfth-century reform of the Irish Church. The link between the two likely began with Palladius, a member of the elite of the Gallican Church, who is believed to have come from Auxerre to Ireland in the fifth century.[1]

Gallican chant was sung on the Continent before the imposition of Gregorian chant under Pippin III (751–68) and Charlemagne (768–814). Because liturgical codices with notation are extant only from the beginning of the ninth century, scholars have believed that the chants of the Gallican Rite had mostly been superseded before its melodies were written down. Still, through the examination of notated Gregorian sources — as well as some Mozarabic and Ambrosian — it has been possible to determine the nature of some Gallican chants based on melodic characteristics.[2] Several melodic features are ascribed to Gallican

[1] Dáibhi Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200* (London: Longman 1995), p. 21.

[2] Michel Huglo, 'Gallican Chant', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), IX, 459–62 (p. 459); see also Michel Huglo and Olivier Cullin, 'Gallikanischer Gesang', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, 29 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter–Metzler,

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chant: these include the use of formulaic and repetitive structures. In addition, a particular neume, the *pes stratus*, is frequently found in a rising cadence. This neume is not found within the Gregorian repertory but only in chants composed in Gaul before the Gregorian reform and immediately thereafter.[3]

The link between Gallican chant and chant sung in Ireland in the early Middle Ages was very likely strengthened by the travels of those early Irish saints known as the *Peregrini*, groups of monks who, from the late sixth century, desired to undertake *peregrinatio pro Christo*. These holy people left their homeland and travelled in increasing numbers to regions throughout Britain and the continent of Europe, taking with them their zealotry, charisma, customs, liturgy, and chant. The *Peregrini* exerted a powerful influence in the region of Francia up to the eighth century when that influence waned in the wake of increasing Roman influence and the centralizing Carolingian concept of *unitas*, which also resulted in the suppression of Gallican chant during this same period. The initial purpose of my study was to seek proper chants for these Irish *Peregrini* in Continental manuscript sources in an attempt to find any surviving traces of Irish chant elsewhere in Europe.[4] The outcome of the research suggests that it may still be found within the garb of the Gallican, or vice versa.

Vestiges of the *Peregrini* and the devotions they inspired can be found in literally hundreds of manuscripts in insular and Continental libraries from as early as the seventh century. As a basis for my study, I identified over three hundred codices that contain chants for thirty-nine Irish saints, using *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (*AH*) as the basic finding tool for hymn, sequence, and versified Office texts.[5] In that *AH* does not usually mention notation, its presence or absence can only be determined by examination of the actual manuscript or a microfilm copy. In order to narrow my search, I chose to consider only chants for Irish people who actually left Ireland and went to the Continent, thus creat-

1994–2007, suppl. 2008), III (1995), 998–1027 (p. 1012). I thank David Hiley for bringing this article to my attention, and Kristin Dill for her translation.

[3] See Michel Huglo in this volume, note 38; Huglo and Cullin, 'Gallikanischer Gesang', p. 1012; David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 187; Eugène Cardine, *Gregorian Semiology* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1982), p. 213.

[4] Sara Gibbs Casey, 'Songs for the *Peregrini*: Proper Chants for Irish Saints as Found in Continental Manuscripts of the Middle Ages' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2003).

[5] See also *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi: Register*, ed. by Max Lütolf with Dorothea Baumann and others, 3 vols (Bern: Francke, 1978).

ing a pool of sixteen individuals who are represented in approximately half of the manuscripts cited for Irish saints in *AH*. The *Peregrini* were said to have 'entranced the people',[6] and provided a new and apparently very attractive form of Christianity, one which included severe asceticism. 'If it were a choice between a clergy living a comfortable secular existence and men "mad for God", the choice fell upon the madmen'.[7]

While one of the earliest of the *Peregrini* is believed to be Fridolin who, according to tradition at least, left Ireland and went to Poitiers in the early sixth century, it is Columbanus who had more impact than any of the others on seventh-century Merovingian monasticism and religious customs.[8] A veteran of the abbey of Bangor, Co. Down, he followed the most austere and severe practice within Irish monasticism under the guidance of Abbot Comgall. Having been ordained a priest, Columbanus went on *peregrinatio pro Christo* to Gaul in the late 580s, departing with his twelve companions in one of the trading vessels that put into port at Bangor.[9] With the support of local patrons, Columbanus founded monasteries at Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaine. His rule is the only Irish monastic rule in Latin that survives.[10] Reflecting his pow-

[6] Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 144.

[7] Pierre Riché, 'Columbanus, his Followers and the Merovingian Church', in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. by Howard B. Clarke and Mary Brennan, British Archeological Reports, 113 (Oxford: BAR, 1981), pp. 59–72 (p. 67).

[8] Much of what we know of Columbanus is found in Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani*, written about twenty years after Columbanus's death at Bobbio in 615; see *Vita Columbani*, in *Ionae Bobbio Vitae Columbani, Vedasti et Columbani*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, *MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, IV (Hannover: Hahn, 1905), pp. 1–152. Dana C. Munro, *Life of Columbanus* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899), a translation of Jonas's work, may be found online at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/columban.html>. Edward Peters, *Monks, Bishops and Pagans: Christian Culture in Gaul and Italy 500–700* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), pp. 75–113, also contains translations of a portion of Jonas's work.

[9] There was regular commercial contact between Ireland and the Loire Valley during this period. Cf. Jean-Michel Picard, 'Aquitaine et Irlande dans le Haut Moyen Age', in *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), pp. 17–30 (p. 23); and Riché, 'Columbanus', p. 61.

[10] James A. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929; repr. Dublin: Pádraig Ó Táilliúir, 1979), p. 198. See also Robert R. Wippel, 'The *Regula Monachorum* of Saint Columbanus Abbot, with English Translation, Notes, and Commentary' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Washington, 1942), p. 4; also Jane Barbara Stevenson, 'The Monastic Rules of St. Columbanus', in *Colum-*

erful personality and sense of extreme mortification of the body for the good of the soul, the *Regula Columbani* was followed at these three monasteries and others subsequently founded by his followers.

Because of the vicissitudes of Irish history, there are few extant pre-Norman Irish liturgical manuscripts, and even fewer that contain readable notation. Therefore, early, pre-reform Irish chant has been considered to be lost. However, there have been several studies in which certain melodic features have been suggested as characteristic of Irish chant.

The first feature was mentioned by Bruno Stäblein in 1972. He proposed that the repetition of melodic formulae or cells could be a feature of Irish chant.[11] He cited two antiphons, *Ibunt sancti* and *Crucem sanctam*, which present unusually repetitious melodies. *Ibunt sancti* was said to have been sung by Theodoaldus, a monk of Columbanus's monastery at Bobbio, at the latter's deathbed.[12] The first line of the antiphon is in ABA form, while the second line repeats the melody of the first. This parallel structure is unusual for antiphons and is similar to that found in the sequence, which presents melodies in AB AB AB form.[13] *Crucem sanctam* follows a similar pattern, with an extended medial and ending cadence being repeated in each line; these repeated sections comprise over two-thirds of the line.

The second feature was proposed by Patrick Brannon about twenty years after Stäblein's work. In his study of chants of the Divine Office in four fifteenth-century Irish Sarum manuscripts, Brannon noted a frequent use of tertial construction; that is, melodies that had frequent intervals of a third.[14]

banus: Studies on the Latin Writings, ed. by Michael Lapidge, Studies in Celtic History, 17 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 203–16.

[11] Bruno Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien der altirischen Liturgie', in *Musicae Scientiae Collectanea: Festschrift für Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Heinrich Hüschen (Köln: Arno Volk, 1973), pp. 590–97 (p. 592). Cf. Huglo in this volume.

[12] Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien', p. 593. See now Huglo in this volume.

[13] This is also pointed out in Ann Buckley, 'Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society', *Early Music*, 28.2 (May 2000), 165–90 (p. 182). See also Ann Buckley, 'Music in Ireland to *c.* 1500', in *A New History of Ireland*, I: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 744–813 (p. 795).

[14] Patrick Brannon, 'A Contextual Study of the Four Notated Sarum Divine Office Manuscripts from Anglo-Norman Ireland' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington University, St Louis, 1990), p. 274. Brannon bases his theory on that of Henrik van der Werf, who suggests that tertial construction is prominent in chants from the north-east section of France. While van der Werf posits a Germanic/Frankish basis for the origin of tertial preference, and Brannon suggests that a preference for this compositional style may have arrived in Ireland

The third element of my analysis was based on a feature observed in the neumes found in the early/mid-twelfth-century Irish Drummond Missal (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 627). In the seven instances of notation within the manuscript, I discerned an unusual neume pattern that consists of an alternating virga and punctum.[15] Following the semiological approach suggested by Leo Treitler, this pattern, or system, suggests a frequent change of melodic direction,[16] one not evidenced in many notated chants.

I have examined nineteen chants for the Irish *Peregrini* using the three musical characteristics described above as a basis for analysis. A number of manuscripts were found to contain chant texts with adiastematic neumes. Exemplars from a later date displayed staff notation, suggesting a continued veneration of the saint in question. A few others did not seem to have survived the transition to staff notation. Most unfortunate of all, numerous other chant texts — not included in the present discussion — are without notation, at least in the exemplars that I have so far examined.

Text incipits for those chants with notation can be seen in Table 5.1. Chants with adiastematic notation can do no more than suggest the presence of repetition, because of the uncertainty of exact pitch. These are indicated in parentheses in Table 5.1. The large majority of chants that I have found with staff notation clearly display all of the three melodic characteristics that I investigated in my search for traces of an Irish chant style. While this is true of each of the genres that I have examined, it is most prevalent in the genre of sequence, a point to which I will return.

due to interactions between travelling Irish monks and Continental monastic foundations, it is equally possible that the practice originated in Ireland and was carried to the Continent with the *Peregrini* or was part of the Gallican tradition that travelled to Ireland.

[15] Sara Gibbs Casey, '"Through a Glass Darkly": Steps towards Reconstructing Irish Chant from the Neumes of the Drummond Missal', *Early Music*, 28.2 (2000), 205–15. Also see Casey, 'The Drummond Missal: A Preliminary Investigation into its Historical, Liturgical, and Musicological Significance in Pre-Norman Ireland' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1995), and Casey, 'The Sanctus Chant of the Drummond Missal: A Semiotic Study' (unpublished paper, 1997).

[16] Leo Treitler, 'Paleography and Semiotics', in *Musicologie Médiévale: Notations et séquences. Actes de la table ronde du CNRS à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 6–7 septembre 1982*, ed. by Michel Huglo (Paris: Champion, 1987), pp. 15–28. My research predated works such as Christopher S. Morrissey, 'Solesmes Old and New: Modeling Systems Theory and Gregorian Semiology', in *Chant: Old and New. Proceedings of the Conference of the Gregorian Institute of Canada, Dalhousie University, August 4–7, 2011*, ed. by William Renwick (Lions Bay: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2012), pp. 63–72.

Table 5.1. Notated chants for Irish saints.

Incipit	Saint	Notation	Repetition	Alternation	Tertial
Hymns					
Eia nunc socii	Findan	adiastematic	illegible		
Sol ille verus	Findan	adiastematic, staff	2	2	2
Vita sanctorum via	Gall	adiastematic	(1)	1	—
Annua sancte dei	Gall	adiastematic	indeterminable		—
Office Chants					
Beatus Gallus	Gall	unnotated, adias., staff	2	2	2
Venerabilis Gallus	Gall	unnotated, adias., staff	2	1	2
Tropes					
Ad missae laudes	Findan	adiastematic	(1)	1	
Divini fuerat quoniam	Columbanus	adiastematic, staff	1	1	1
Haec est alma	Kilian	adiastematic, staff	2	1	1
Hodie sanctissime patroni	Gall	adiastematic	indeterminable		
Quem caeli cives	Maglorius	adiastematic	indeterminable		
Sequences					
A solis occasu	Columbanus	unnotated, adias.,staff	2	2	2
Ad extrema ecce	Columbanus	staff	2	2	1
Adoranda veneranda	Kilian	unnotated, staff	2	2	2
Christe sanctis unica	Gall	adiastematic, staff	2	2	2
Dilecte Deo Galle	Gall	unnotated, adias., staff	2	2	2
Melodum dulcedo	Pirmin	adiastematic, staff	2	2	2
Sancto Dei famulo	Fridolin*	staff	2	2	1
Summa laude	Findan	unnotated, adias.	(1)	1	—

* Editorial note: Since this chapter went to press, an edition of the Office of St Fridolin has been published with further notated chants, as follows: Balther von Säckingen, Bischof von Speyer, *Historia Sancti Fridolini (ca. 970), Einführung und Edition*, ed. by Mechtild Pörnbacher and David Hiley (Lions Bay: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2016).

Demonstration of the three melodic characteristics can be found in two chants for Irish saints selected for the present discussion. These are the responsory and verse *Beatus Gallus* and the sequence *A solis occasu* (in honour of Columbanus). *Beatus Gallus* (Music Example 5.1) is from the second nocturn for the feast of St Gallen.[17] The earliest known recension occurs in a manuscript copied in Switzerland or northern Italy in the late tenth or early eleventh century, now London, British Library, MS Add. 21170.

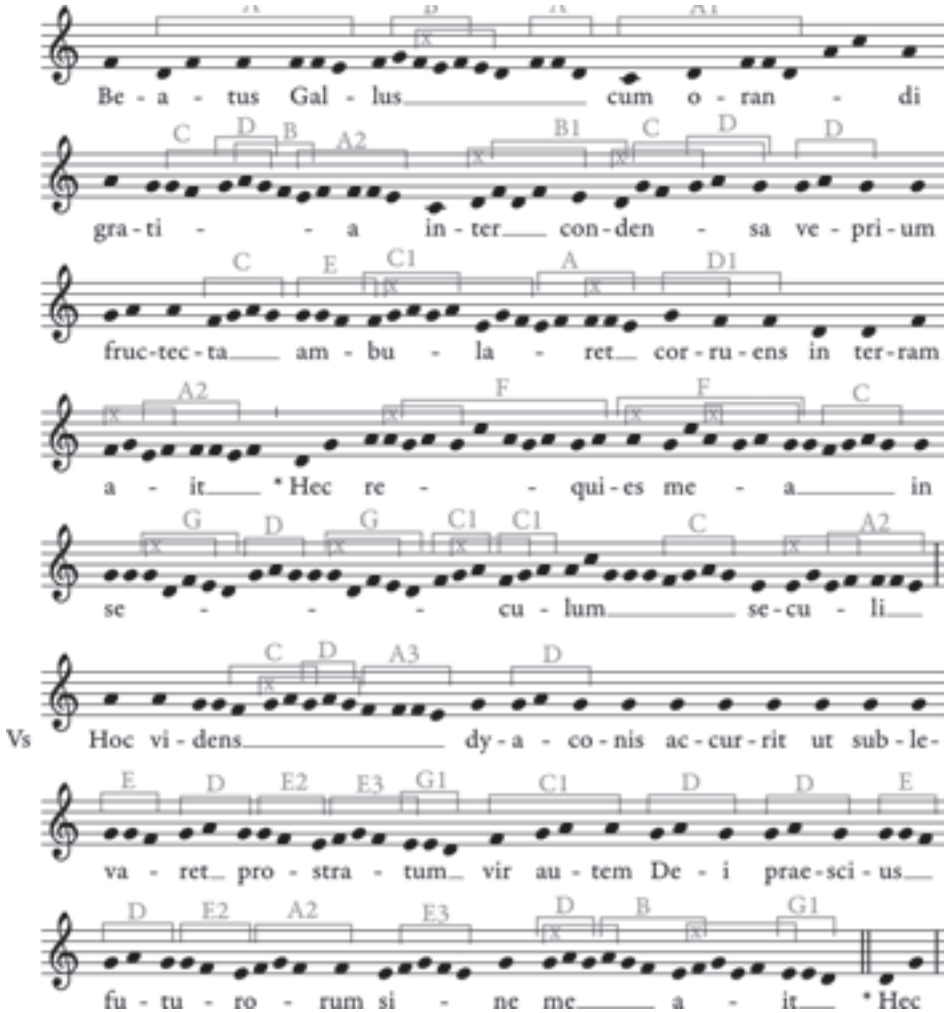
Table 5.2. Manuscript sources for the responsory and verse *Beatus Gallus*. (This list represents only those manuscripts that I have examined.)

London, British Library, Additional MS 21170	adiastematic	*c.* 1000
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23037	adiastematic	12th century
Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C. 174	adiastematic	13th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 415	not notated	15th century
Prague, Národní knihovna, MS VI F 16	staff notation	15th century

It contains all of the characteristics that we are considering as aspects of chants for Irish saints. There is considerable repetition in the chant, a feature that occurs at several levels. In addition to a small amount of cadential repetition, there is repetition of melodic cells of three or more notes. In numerous instances these are extended by melodic variation. Throughout the following analysis, the nature of repetition and the subjectivity of the description of variants must be taken into consideration.

The first cell, 'A', consists initially of six notes which, along with its several variants, occurs nine times throughout the piece. The second cell, 'B', is a descending tetrachordal pattern that occurs, with variants, in lines 1, 2, and 8. Cell 'C' is found in basic and variant forms, in lines 2–7. Cell 'D' occurs first in line 2, and then in every line thereafter except 4. Cell 'E' is found at the beginning of line 3. It and its variants occur frequently in the second and third lines

[17] Kathrin Schulze, 'Das Gallusoffizium: Untersuchungen und Edition', 2 vols (unpublished master's thesis, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, 1995), II, 7. This Office is found in multiple manuscripts. For an extensive listing of sources, see ibid., I, 76–137. I would like to thank Wulf Arlt for introducing this unpublished work to me. See also Harmut Möller, 'Office Compositions from St. Gall: Saints Gallus and Otmar', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 237–56.



Music Example 5.1. Responsory and verse *Beatus Gallus*, from Prague, Národní knihovna, MS VI F 16, fol. 119[r].

of the verse. Cell 'F' is found in immediate repetition in line 4. A fifth cell, 'G', occurs in lines 5, 7, and 8, where a variant of it serves as the final cadence.

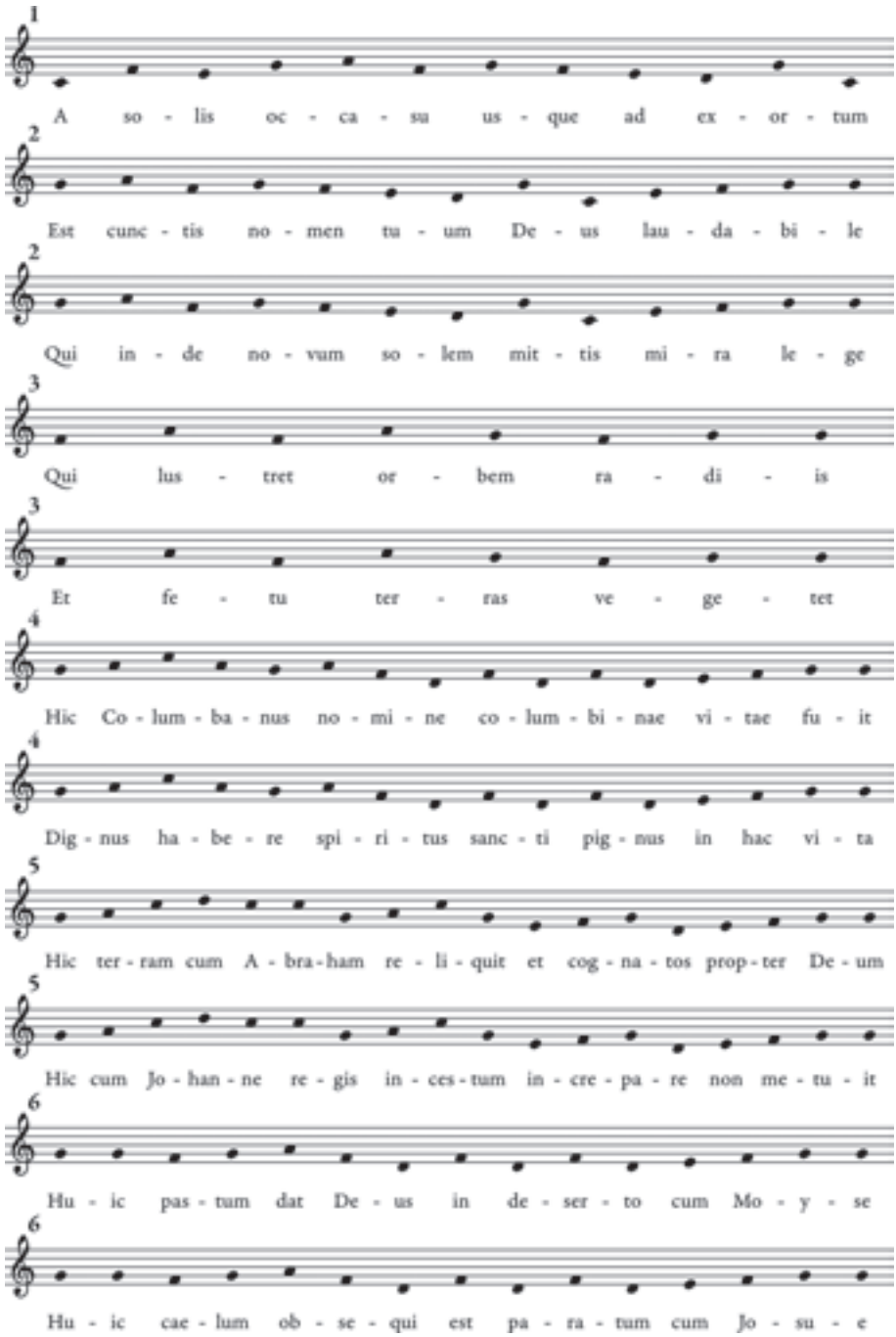
The pattern, or system, of frequently alternating melodic direction is found numerous times throughout this chant. I have arbitrarily set the pattern at a minimum of four notes and have found examples in both conjunct and disjunct

Table 5.3. Manuscript sources for the sequence *A solis occasu*.

London, British Library, Additional MS 19768	adiastematic	10th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 381	adiastematic	10th century
Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 121	adiastematic	10th–11th century
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Liturgische Hs. 6	adiastematic	1000
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Liturgische Hs. 5	adiastematic	1001
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14083	adiastematic	early 11th century
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14322	adiastematic	early 11th century
Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS Theol. IV 25	adiastematic	11th century
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Sel. Sup. 27	adiastematic	11th century
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 13252	adiastematic	11th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 376	adiastematic	11th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 380	adiastematic	11th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 382	adiastematic	11th century
Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 132	adiastematic	11th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 375	not notated	11th/12th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 378	adiastematic	11th/13th century
Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 71	not notated	11th/15thcentury
Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 113	adiastematic	early 12th century
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1821	adiastematic	12th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 337b	not notated	15th century
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 546	staff	16th century
Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. Ch. F. 282	staff	1623
Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. Ch. F. 283	staff	1624

form, that is, there are several instances where the pattern extends beyond individual neumatic groupings. Motif 'x' begins in the second line and then in all following lines except for the seventh. Tertial construction is often combined with directional change and is seen in lines 2, 3, 5, and 8. This chant is a prime example of the type of ornamental development through small repeating patterns that is associated with the Gallican repertory.[18] The last two lines are very repetitious, with frequent alternations between pitches *G* and *A*. (This melodic feature appears similar to patterns seen in the Drummond Missal neumes.)

[18] Huglo and Cullin, 'Gallikanischer Gesang', p. 1012.


1
A so - lis oc - ca - su us - que ad ex - or - tum
2
Est cunc - tis no - men tu - um De - us lau - da - bi - le
2
Qui in - de no - vum so - lem mit - tis mi - ra le - ge
3
Qui lus - tret or - bem ra - di - is
3
Et fe - tu ter - ras ve - ge - tet
4
Hic Co - lum - ba - nus no - mi - ne co - lum - bi - nae vi - tae fu - it
4
Dig - nus ha - be - re spi - ri - tus sanc - ti pig - nus in hac vi - ta
5
Hic ter - ram cum A - bra - ham re - li - quit et cog - na - tos prop - ter De - um
5
Hic cum Jo - han - ne re - gis in - ces - tum in - cre - pa - re non me - tu - it
6
Hu - ic pas - tum dat De - us in de - ser - to cum Mo - y - se
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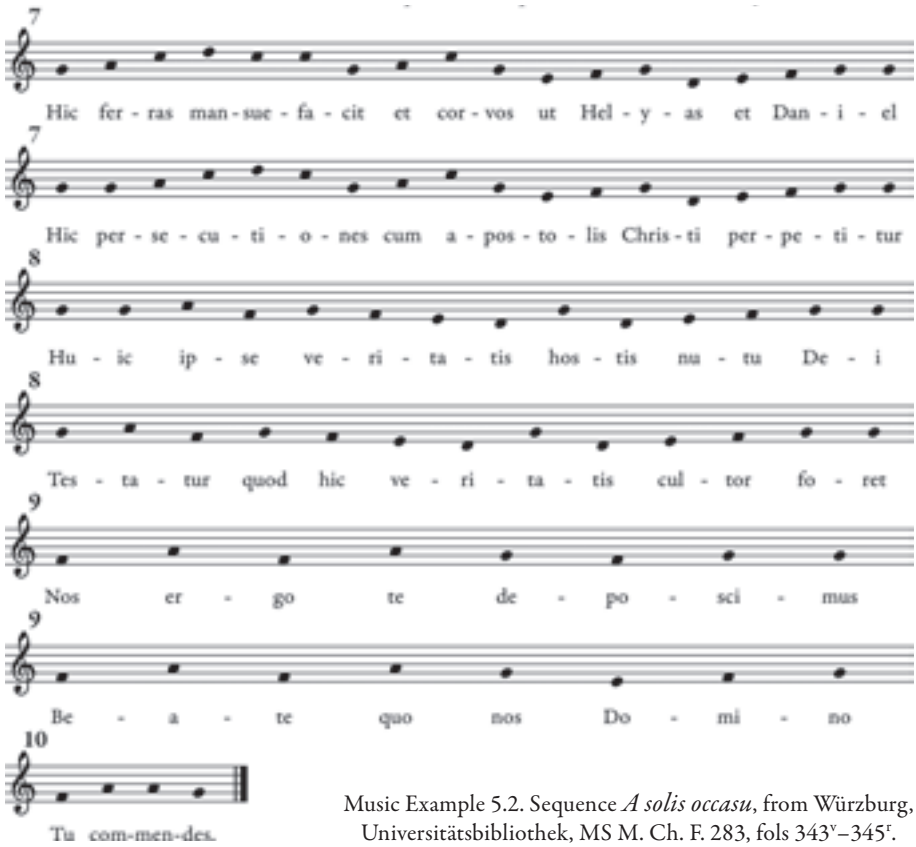


Music Example 5.2. Sequence *A solis occasu*, from Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. Ch. F. 283, fols 343^{v}–345^{r}.

The second item to be considered is the sequence *A solis occasu*, the text of which is by Ekkehard of St Gallen and considered to be one of his earliest compositions, dating possibly from the 930s.[19] Sources that I have examined are listed in Table 5.3.

Although widely disseminated, this sequence surivives from the Middle Ages only in manuscripts using adiastematic neumes, which cannot be transcribed with certainty onto a modern stave. The transcription presented here (Musical Example 5.2) is therefore taken from a seventeenth-century Benedictine gradual, Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. Ch. F. 283, from Amorbach.

[19] *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 and 381*, ed. by Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, in collaboration with Cristina Hospenthal, 3 vols (Winterthur: Amadeus 1996), I, 51.

Repetition begins in the second melodic line where, after a three-note incipit, the notes of the first line are repeated. The second line is repeated, except for one note, in the eighth line. Lines 3 and 9 share the same melody, as do lines 5 and 7. Lines 4 and 6 are identical after differing incipits of five and four notes respectively, with a descending triad and a thrice-repeated alternation between pitches *F* and *D*. A three-note melodic cell makes up the beginning of lines 4, 5, and 7. Finally, there is cadential repetition at each line, which includes the rising cadence, which is found in all but the first and last lines. As mentioned previously, this cadence is not found in the Gregorian repertory.[20] In addition to the alternation of notes seen in lines 4 and 6, the frequently alternating directional motion appears all throughout the piece, sometimes extending to seven notes. Beyond the triadic forms in the fourth and sixth lines, there are numerous other instances of tertial construction.

In an effort to compare my findings with chants for Irish saints in extant insular manuscripts, I examined three codices: the Inchcolm Antiphoner (Edinburgh, University Library, MS 211.iv, *c.* 1340), the Dublin Troper (Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 710, *c.* 1330), and a Processional from Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (Marsh's Library, MS Z.4.2.20, fourteenth century). With provenances in Scotland (in the case of Inchcolm)[21] and Ireland, they are Sarum Rite sources. However, the existence of propers for Irish saints suggests the possible continuance of a veneration that could predate the copying of the codex.

A case in point is the Inchcolm Antiphoner from the Augustinian abbey of Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth dedicated to the Irish St Columba or Colum Cille, the founder of Iona. As Isobel Woods Preece observed, the Columban pieces in this fourteenth-century manuscript may be from an earlier period, as an Inchcolm priory preceded the later abbey. Founded around 1123, the priory was under the protection and patronage of the bishops of Dunkeld. It was to Dunkeld that the relics of Columba were translated by King Kenneth I in 849, allowing for the possibility that the chants for Columba in the Inchcolm Antiphoner date from this time. Woods Preece points out the repetitive nature of the melodies for Columba, citing Stäblein's theory that repetition of motivic

[20] Huglo and Cullin, 'Gallikanischer Gesang', p. 1012; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 187; Cardine, *Gregorian Semiology*, p. 213.

[21] See Isobel Woods Preece, '"Our awin Scottis Use": Chant Usage in Medieval Scotland', in *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music of the Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. by Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), pp. 55–74 (p. 60).

Table 5.4. Melodic characteristics of chants in insular manuscripts.

Incipit	Genre	Repetition	Alternation	Tertial
Inchcolm Antiphoner				
Aurora rutilat lucis	hymn	2	1	—
Ave sanctorum Columba	responsory	2	2	2
Sanctorum piissime Columba	responsory	2	2	2
Dublin Troper				
Laeta lux est	sequence	2	2	2
Laetabundus decantet	sequence	2	2	2
Dublin, Marsh's Library Z.4.2.20				
Salve festa dies	versus	2	1	1
Pontificali insula Rome	responsory	2	2	2
Serve Jesu	responsory	2	2	2
O Columba custos ecclesiae	antiphon	2	2	2

In this table, '2' signifies that there were many instances of the characteristics, while '1' indicates that there were three or four occurrences; a dash means that the feature was found once or twice, or not at all.

cells could be a feature of what she terms the 'Celtic tradition' (*sic*).[22] My own analyses of the Columban chants in the Inchcolm Antiphoner indicate that they contain melodic features similar to other chants for Irish saints from Continental manuscripts. This finding was repeated for the chants for Patrick and Colum Cille in the Dublin Processional, suggesting a common chant tradition, whether 'Irish' as posited by Stäblein or 'Gallican' as described by Huglo and Cullin, or indeed representing a common tradition.

The sequences for Patrick in the Dublin Troper are, however, more problematic. Sequences of the 'First Epoch', from the ninth to early eleventh centuries, were written in a highly elevated prose style, as in the case of *A solis occasu*. Sequences from the 'Second Epoch' are distinguished by their use of rhyme and rhythm. The latter became standard after the twelfth century.[23] Following the overall form of the earliest sequences, 'Second Epoch' sequences are still

[22] Woods Preece, '"Our awin Scottis Use"', pp. 34 and 69, resp.

[23] Lori A. Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, 'The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 1997), pp. 7–8.

Table 5.5. Characteristics of chants from the Gallican tradition.

Incipit	Genre	Repetition	Alternation	Tertial
Benedicat nos deus	antiphon	2	2	2
Collegerunt pontifices	antiphon	2	2	2
Elegerunt apostolic	offertory	2	2	2
Emitte angelum	antiphon	2	2	2
Insignes praeconiis	antiphon	2	2	2
Venit ad Petrum	antiphon	2	2	2
O crux benedicta	antiphon	2	2	2
Vadis propriatur	antiphon	2	2	2

composed of two consecutive lines of text set to the same music, creating paired versicles.[24] Even so, while the sequences for St Patrick in the Dublin Troper conform in their textual style to sequences composed after 1150, melodically they contain many of the features of earlier sequence construction, particularly the repetition of melodic cells.

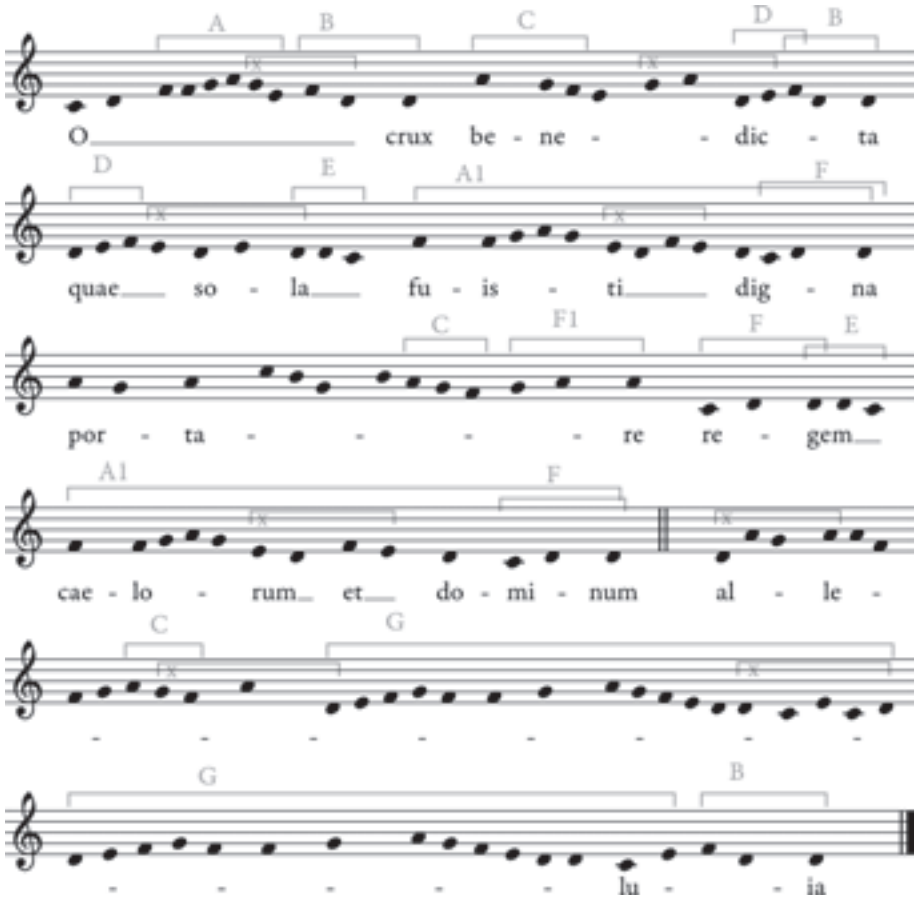
All of the chants discussed thus far exhibit stylistic features of a tradition that predates the Sarum or Gregorian traditions. With one exception, chants from these Irish and Scottish manuscripts displayed the same three characteristics that I have found in chants for Irish saints in Continental manuscripts, that is, repetition, a frequently alternating directional motif, and tertial construction.[25] These results are summarized in Table 5.4.

These materials contain elements of a preliterate style, one that is based upon the principles of oral composition. Of the melodic characteristics, that of repetition of formulae or musical cells is particularly evocative of the theory of 'thrift', that is, a 'tendency to sing again what one has just sung in the plainchant'.[26] Stemming from the days before the invention of musical notation, this practice has been observed in Gregorian chant and in the chant that preceded it in Francia, Gallican chant.

[24] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 172.

[25] Transcriptions of these chants, as well as those from the Gallican and Gregorian traditions, discussed below, may be found in Casey, 'Songs for the *Peregrini*', pp. 158–218, 219–37, 285–360.

[26] Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 183.



Music Example 5.3. Antiphon *O crux benedicta*,
from the *Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1959), p. 1631.

It may be noted that properties attributed to Gallican chant are similar to what I discovered in nearly all of the chants for Irish saints. An analysis of a number of chants believed to be of the Gallican tradition has also revealed these same melodic characteristics, repetition of formulae, and a use of tertial structure. In addition to these features, the motif of a frequent change of melodic direction also occurs. Incipits of the chants examined and a summary of their musical characteristics are listed in Table 5.5.

Table 5.6. Chants from the Gregorian tradition.

Incipit	Repetition	Alternation	Tertial
Antiphons			
Adjuvat eam	—	—	1
Dominus Scolasticae	—	—	2
Ecce dedi verba	—	—	1
Misit Dominus	2	—	2
Obedaentiae speculum	1	—	2
Sicut laetentium	—	—	1
Specia tua	—	—	2
Responsories			
Anima Scolasticae	1	2	2
Cum inducerent	2	2	2
Cumque ad mensum	1	2	2
Domini si tu	—	2	—
Eligit Mariam	2	2	2
Felix namque es	—	2	2
Fuit vir vitae	2	2	1
Ibunt parentes	2	2	2
Magnificat anima	—	2	2
Nihil inquinatum	1	2	2
O laudanda sancti	2	2	2
Ostendit mihi Dominus	—	1	1
Prolapso in lacum	1	1	2
Puer unum hominum	2	2	2
Tu puer propheta	—	2	2
Tu quae in columbina	1	2	2
Hymns			
Agathe sacrae virginis	1	—	1
Almi prophetae	1	1	—
Ave Katherina martyr	—	1	1
Ave maris stella	—	—	—
Beate pastor Petre	2	2	2
Creator alme siderum	1	—	2

Table 5.6. Chants from the Gregorian tradition. *(cont.)*

Incipit	Repetition	Alternation	Tertial
Hymns *(cont.)*			
Crudelis Herodes	2	1	1
Custodes hominum	1	1	2
Exsultans in praeconio	—	1	—
Exsultet orbis gaudiis	—	—	—
Hymnizemus regi Christo	1	1	—
Marcelium atque Petrum	2	—	—
Martyr dei egregie	—	—	—
Martyris ecce dies	2	—	2
Nunc sancte nobis	1	—	1
Rex gloriose martyrum	—	1	1
Te splendor et virtus	—	—	1
Wulstane, praesul inclite	2	1	1
Versus			
Ardua spes	2	1	2
Lumen clarum	2	1	1
O redemptor sume	2	1	2
Salve feste dies	2	2	2
Tropes			
Caelebremus hodie	2	2	1
Celsa polorum	—	1	1
Delictis cendo	2	1	—
Dicat in ethra	2	1	2
Ecce sacerdos	2	2	2
Ecclesiae sponsus	2	2	1
Hodie parvulorum	1	2	2
Laetabunda per orbem	2	1	1
Quam miranda facis	2	1	1
Sanctorum collegiam	—	1	1
Sanctus Augustinum	2	2	2

In this table, 2 signifies that there were many instances of the characteristics, while 1 indicates that there were three or four occurrences; a dash means that the feature was found once or twice, or not at all.

An example is the chant *O crux benedicta quae sola*, an antiphon of Gallican origin that has concordances in the Ambrosian Antiphoner.[27] It has at least seven repeated motifs. The first, which, with its variants, is heard three times throughout the chant, is labelled 'A' in Music Example 5.3. Cells 'B', 'C', 'D', 'E', and 'F' are three-note cells which appear with varying frequency. The final cell, 'G', occurs in the melisma at the end of the piece and extends the melody by immediate reiteration. In addition to the characteristic of repetition, the tendency towards a frequently alternating melodic direction is found numerous times throughout the chant. It is commonly combined with tertial movement.

The rising cadence, indicated by cell 'F', occurs in median positions and as a final cadence, preceding the melismatic *Alleluia*. As mentioned previously, this melodic feature is not found within the Gregorian repertory and is a marker of Gallican practice.[28]

In order to determine if these characteristics were unique to Irish or Gallican traditions, I chose to enlarge the number of chants examined in an analysis of seventy-five chants from the genres of antiphon, responsory, and hymns in printed editions of the Gregorian repertory.[29] Examples of tropes, versus, and sequences from the West-Frankish repertory were found in several printed sources.[30] A summary of the findings may be seen in Tables 5.6 and 5.7.

While many of these chants did not display the three melodic characteristics common to Irish and Gallican chant, a considerable number of them did. This finding corroborates the work of Olivier Cullin and Michel Huglo and also the recent work of Kenneth Levy, all of whom suggest that a large portion of chants found in the Gregorian tradition were taken directly from the Gallican repertory.[31] While Levy primarily studied offertories, I found similar results for nearly all of the genres examined.

[27] Huglo, 'Gallican Chant', p. 462. The melody for this chant was found in the *Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1959), p. 1631.

[28] Huglo and Cullin, 'Gallikanischer Gesang', p. 1012; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 187; Cardine, *Gregorian Semiology*, p. 213.

[29] *Liber Usualis*, passim; *Liber Responsorialis* (Solesmes: E Typographeo Sancti Petri. 1895), passim.

[30] Günther Weisss, *Introitus-Tropen I. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi,* III (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970); M. Benedicte Berendes, 'The Versus and its Use in the Medieval Roman Liturgy' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1973); Richard Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1977), passim.

[31] Kenneth Levy, 'Gregorian Chant and the Romans', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 5–41.

Table 5.7. West-Frankish sequences.

Incipit	First–Final	Repetition	Alternation	Tertial
Christi hodierna	F–G	2	2	2
Clara gaudia	C–G	2	2	2
Ecce dies	C–G	2	2	2
Ecce vicit	G–G	2	2	2
En virginum agmina	E–E	2	2	2
Fortis atque amara	B–G	1	2	2
Haec dies est	C–G	2	2	2
Haec dies quam	G–G	2	2	2
Haec est sancta	F–G	2	2	2
Jubilemus omnes	E–E	2	2	2
Laudes Deo omnes	G–G	2	2	2
Nunc exulted	F–G	2	2	2
Omnipotens Deus	G–G	2	2	2
Organicis canamus	C–G	2	2	2
Praecursur Christi	C–D	2	2	2
Regnantem sempiternae	D–D	2	2	2
Rex omnipotens	F–G	2	2	2
Salvus aeterne	F–G	2	2	2
Veniet rex	F–G	2	2	2

In this table, 2 signifies that there were many instances of the characteristics, while 1 indicates that there were three or four occurrences.

Of all of the chants for 'non-Irish' saints that I examined, it was in the genre of sequence that the three characteristics of repetition, frequent change of melodic direction, and tertial construction were most common, occurring frequently in nearly every chant. The multiple repetition of melodic formulae that I found in these nineteen West-Frankish sequences reinforces the theory of their origin in the oral, prenotated tradition, and emphasizes their connection with Gallican, and also Irish, practices. While a detailed discussion on possible

Figure 5.1. Map of Francia. © Power Media and Design, 2004.

origins of the sequence is far beyond the scope of this paper, some historical details provide a thought-provoking possibility.[32]

Notker relates the history of the arrival of the sequence at St Gallen in the *Proemium*, or Preface, to his *Liber Hymnorum*, the ninth-century codex that contains the new-to-St-Gallen musico-liturgical form, *sequentia*. Notker modelled his sequences on some that had been brought to St Gallen by a monk from the West-Frankish abbey of Jumièges.[33] This monk had fled his abbey in the aftermath of its destruction at the hands of the Norsemen, an event that occurred for the first time in 851.[34]

The monastery of Jumièges was founded by Philibert, a nobleman from Gascony and a disciple of Columbanus. As a young man he went to the monastery at Rebais which was founded by St Ouen, who had trained under Columbanus at Luxeuil. During Philibert's residence at Rebais, the monastery was under the direction of Agile, who was himself formerly of Luxeuil.

[32] For an introduction to some of the difficulties, see Nancy van Deusen, 'The Use and Significance of the Sequence', *Musica Disciplina*, 40 (1986), 1–46.

[33] Richard Crocker, 'Sequence', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, ed. by L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com>; also Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, p. 1.

[34] Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Jumièges', at *Grove online*.

Philibert left Rebais to study the teachings of Columbanus at their source — at Luxeuil and at Bobbio. In 654, Clovis II granted Philibert a tract of land upon which he built the abbey of Jumièges.[35] Philibert was deeply influenced by Columbanus's legacy, as evidenced by the altar dedicated to the latter within the abbey's church.[36] The Rule of Columbanus was kept at Jumièges up to the late eighth or possibly even early ninth century,[37] eventually fusing with, or being replaced by, the Rule of Benedict. The long-term use of Columbanus's Rule, however, suggests a continuing insular influence at Jumièges and allows for the possibility that vestiges of other Irish practices might have been maintained there as well.[38] It is perhaps no coincidence that the early sequences from West Francia, in all likelihood from Jumièges, contain melodic characteristics in common with both chants for Irish saints as well as Gallican chants. Given the Irish underpinnings at Jumièges, it is not impossible that the early sequence as sung in West Francia was, in part, a reflection of continuing Irish influence.

The Irish were ubiquitous on the Continent in early medieval Europe, exerting an enormous impact within the monastic system from the sixth to the later eighth centuries. The amount of influence that they had in the development of chant in Gaul is unknown, though the prevalence of the three compositional features that I have traced throughout this research bespeaks a closely related method of composition, one that is seen in the chants for Irish saints and also in the case of the West-Frankish sequence.

[35] Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), p. 143; Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 124, 148.

[36] Elizabeth Boyle O'Reilly, *How France Built her Cathedrals* (New York: Harper, 1921), p. 483.

[37] William Marnell, *Light from the West* (New York: Seabury Press, 1978), p. 114.

[38] Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1391 (eleventh century), which is one of eight extant manuscripts containing St Patrick's *Confessio*, was formerly in the possession of the abbey of Jumièges. If a Jumièges provenance could be determined, a continuing Irish influence or presence through the eleventh century would be corroborated. Research by the present author regarding this issue is ongoing.

The *Historia* of St Fintan of Rheinau

Bernhard Hangartner*

From the Monastery of Rheinau to the Zürich Zentralbibliothek

There is no precise information available about the history of the monastery of Rheinau. It appears to have been founded in 778 by Count Wolfhart on the island which lies in a prominent bend in the Rhine close to the German border opposite the northern side of Switzerland.[1] The monastery is mentioned for the first time in a document dating to 844 ('monasterium quod dicitur Rinaugia').[2]

* This article is based on a paper read at a Session of the Cantus Planus Study Group on the occasion of the Congress of the International Musicological Society (IMS) on 16 July 2007. I offer my most sincere thanks to Dr Ann Buckley for inviting me to publish it in this collected volume, and for translating it from the original German version.

[1] 778 is the date accepted since the baroque era. The results of research by Karl Schmid in 1957 have established that the beginnings of the monastery go back to the last third of the eighth century. See Judith Steinmann and Peter Stotz, 'Rheinau', in *Die Orden mit Benediktinerregel*, I.2 (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1986), vol. III.1 of *Helvetia Sacra*, gen. eds Rudolf Henggeler and Albert Bruckner, pp. 1101–65 (p. 1101).

[2] Cited after Steinmann and Stotz, 'Rheinau', p. 1101, in *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, ed. by J. Escher and P. Schweizer, 13 vols (Zürich: Höhr, 1888–1957), I, no. 57. According to Regula Puskas, the first documentary reference is recorded as received tradition together with the appointment of the first abbot in 850, as follows: 'monasterium quod vocatur Rinaugia et est constructum in honore sancte Marie et beati Petri, ubi abba Antwarth preesse videtur'. See *Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Escher and Schweizer, I, no. 61, quoted from Regula Puskas, *Die mittelalterlichen Mettenresponsorien der Klosterkirche Rheinau*, Sammlung Musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen, 68 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1984), p. 7.

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Music, Liturgy, and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context, ed. by Ann Buckley, RITUS 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) pp. 101–122
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.RITUS-EB.5.111067

Wolvene (d. 23 December, probably 878),[3] an Alemannic count of the founding family and later abbot of the monastery, restored the monastery which, seventy-five years after its foundation, had fallen into disrepair because of inheritance disputes. He took control over the community and consolidated the new situation through the offices of King Louis the German.[4] After Wolvene's death Louis granted the monastery freedom to elect its abbot, as well as immunity,[5] whereby Rheinau changed from being an independent foundation to achieve greater status as a royal monastery.

Fintan's residence in the island monastery was during Wolvene's term of office. While no documents survive from the earliest period of the monastery's existence which might indicate under which rule the monks lived, it can be assumed that they were following the Benedictine Rule by the middle of the ninth century, certainly from 885, when Rheinau entered into a *Gebetsverbrüderung* (prayer confraternity) with St Gallen.[6] Periods of growth and decline alternated over the succeeding centuries: with its subjection by the Hirsau Reform over the course of the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries,[7] and intensive contact with monasteries in the greater region (among them St Blasien, Petershausen, St Gallen, Einsiedeln, and Weingarten), Rheinau experienced a variable existence, as was also the case for many other monasteries at the time. After the last economic upturn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which culminated in structural renovation of the layout of the monastery, the French Revolution signalled the start of its final decline. The monastery was closed after the resolution of the Great Council and the Cantonal Government of Zürich on 22 April 1862. The contents of its library were removed the following year to what was then the Kantonsbibliothek, now the Zürich Zentralbibliothek.[8]

[3] See Steinmann and Stotz, 'Rheinau', p. 1125.

[4] Grant dated 19 February 858 (see *Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Escher and Schweizer, 1, no. 80) and endorsed by Louis the German on 12 April 858 (*Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Escher and Schweizer, 1, no. 84).

[5] *Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Escher and Schweizer, 1, no. 112.

[6] See Steinmann and Stotz, 'Rheinau', p. 1104.

[7] The Rheinau community was confronted with the Hirsau Reforms by the monk Cuono, who was sent from Petershausen to the island monastery around 1090. He was succeeded by Abbot Otto, a student of Wilhelm of Hirsau, who resolutely implemented the innovations. Cf. Steinmann and Stotz, 'Rheinau', p. 1105.

[8] Steinmann and Stotz, 'Rheinau', p. 1117.

Fintan and the Monastery of Rheinau

Fintan was born in Ireland *c*. 803 to a family of the minor nobility.[9] His father, a knight in the service of a prince or abbot in Leinster, was murdered in a blood vengeance, and his son, Fintan, was handed over to the Vikings, sold into slavery, and taken to an island from where he was able to flee to the coast of Scotland. He made three vows in the event of his reaching safety: (1) he would place his life in the service of God and renounce the world; (2) he would make a pilgrimage to Rome; and (3) he would live as a pilgrim in a foreign country without ever returning to his homeland. After a two-year stay with a bishop in a small Pictish town in the north of Britain, he set out for Rome which he reached by a long sea voyage to the mouth of the Loire en route for Tours, the seat of St Martin, and onwards by land across Alemannia. He came back to southern Germany on his return journey and in 850 entered the service of an Alemannic nobleman who is probably identified as the above-mentioned new founder of the monastery of Rheinau, Wolvene. Four years later (?854), Wolvene allowed Fintan to enter the monastery at the age of fifty-one. Five years after that, in 859, Fintan withdrew to become an inclusus until his death in 881.[10] Around 900, only some two decades after Fintan's death, an Irishman in the Benedictine monastery of Pfäfers wrote the *Vita Findani*.[11] This man

[9] The biographical description and dates follow the account in Löwe, where a chronology of the details of his life is summarized. See Heinrich Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau: Eine irische peregrinatio im 9. Jahrhundert', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 26 (1985), 52–100 (p. 75).

[10] Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau', p. 75.

[11] See Harald Rainer Derschka, 'Das Leben des heiligen Findan von Rheinau', *Rorschacher Neujahrsblatt*, 84 (1994), 77–86 (p. 83); Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau', pp. 54–60. Copies of Fintan's Life are found in several sources, of which only two survive in the Rheinau collection of the Zürich Zentralbibliothek. In general the documents can be divided into two groups of which the first comprises three manuscripts and the second, four. The manuscripts in Group 1 are today housed in St Gallen (Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, MS 317), Karlsruhe (Landesbibliothek, Reichenau Perg. MS 84), and Engelberg (Stiftsbibliothek, MS 2). The two oldest (St Gallen and Karlsruhe) were written around the year 1000, thus some hundred years after the compilation of the *Vita Findani* and possibly in connection with his canonization. The third manuscript is from the twelfth century, as are three of the four representatives of Group 2: the Zürich MSS (Zentralbibliothek, MSS Rh. 18 and Rh. 28) and a codex from Zwiefalten (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. theol. fol. 188). Finally, for the second group there is a still later manuscript from the early sixteenth century (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1376/141). In principle, the manuscript tradition of Group 1 is older, that of Group 2 later and locally associated with Rheinau. The affirmation that none of the Rheinau manuscripts (which belong to the later, second group) transmit Fintan's Life in full arouses our attention.

must certainly have known Fintan and may well have been one of his travelling companions on the pilgrimage.

Abbot Notker of Rheinau appears to have promoted his canonization around the year 1000: Fintan was canonized in the eleventh century and a shrine was erected above his cell. From then on he was venerated along with Mary and other saints as patron of the Rheinau monastery.[12] The impressive dedicatory image in the Rheinau Gradual shows Fintan when his cult was at its most prominent around 1200 (see Plate I).[13] The cult of St Fintan would always remain confined to the local area, however.[14]

Historia Sancti Findani*: The Tradition*

The melodies of the Office chants for the feast of St Fintan, which, then as now, is celebrated on 15 November, are transmitted in a total of six manuscripts housed in the Zürich Zentralbibliothek. In chronological sequence, they are MSS Rheinau 103, 28, 97, 4, 16, and 157. A brief account and collation of the evidence must suffice here:

MS Rheinau 103 (Plate II)

A composite manuscript of the eleventh century[15] with widely differing sections: Pseudo-Hieronymus: *Liber de Assumptione S. Mariae*; *Nativitas Sancti Blasii*; *Historia Sancti Findani* (also referred to as *Libellum Findani*). It may be

Precisely that section is missing which deals with his *peregrinatio* up to the time of beginnings of the monastery at Rheinau, and therefore would have had a particular relevance for Rheinau. An edition is *Vita Findani*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH, Scriptores*, XV.1 (Hannover, 1887; repr. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963), pp. 502–06. A translation into German was published in Derschka, 'Das Leben'.

[12] See Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau', pp. 96–97. The eleventh-century source, Zürich MS Rh. 103, has an explanatory note by one *Udalricus*, the scribe or redactor of the manuscript: 'Huius praeclari, specialis nostri patroni Findani laeti omnes incolae Renaugenses, adiuncta fratrum caterva, festiva celebramus solemnia. Udalricus' (fol. 37^{v}). Under Abbot Otto, who was from Hirsau, a new monastic church was consecrated on 15 November 1114, the feast of St Fintan, by the Bishop of Basel with Mary, Peter, Alexander, Blaise, Januarius, Maurice, and Fintan as its patrons; see Anton Hänggi, *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius (Zürich Rh 80, Anfang 12. Jh.)*, Spicilegium Friburgense, 1 (Freiburg im Üchtland: Universitätsverlag, 1957), p. xli.

[13] Although here he is dressed in clerical vestments, in other representations he appears in pilgrim's apparel or in the Benedictine habit.

[14] Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau', p. 98, n. 168.

[15] On the question of dating, see Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau', p. 61, n. 26.

Plate I. Rheinau Gradual (*c.* 1200), Detail of dedication image,
Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 14, fol. 9^{v}. Reproduced with permission.

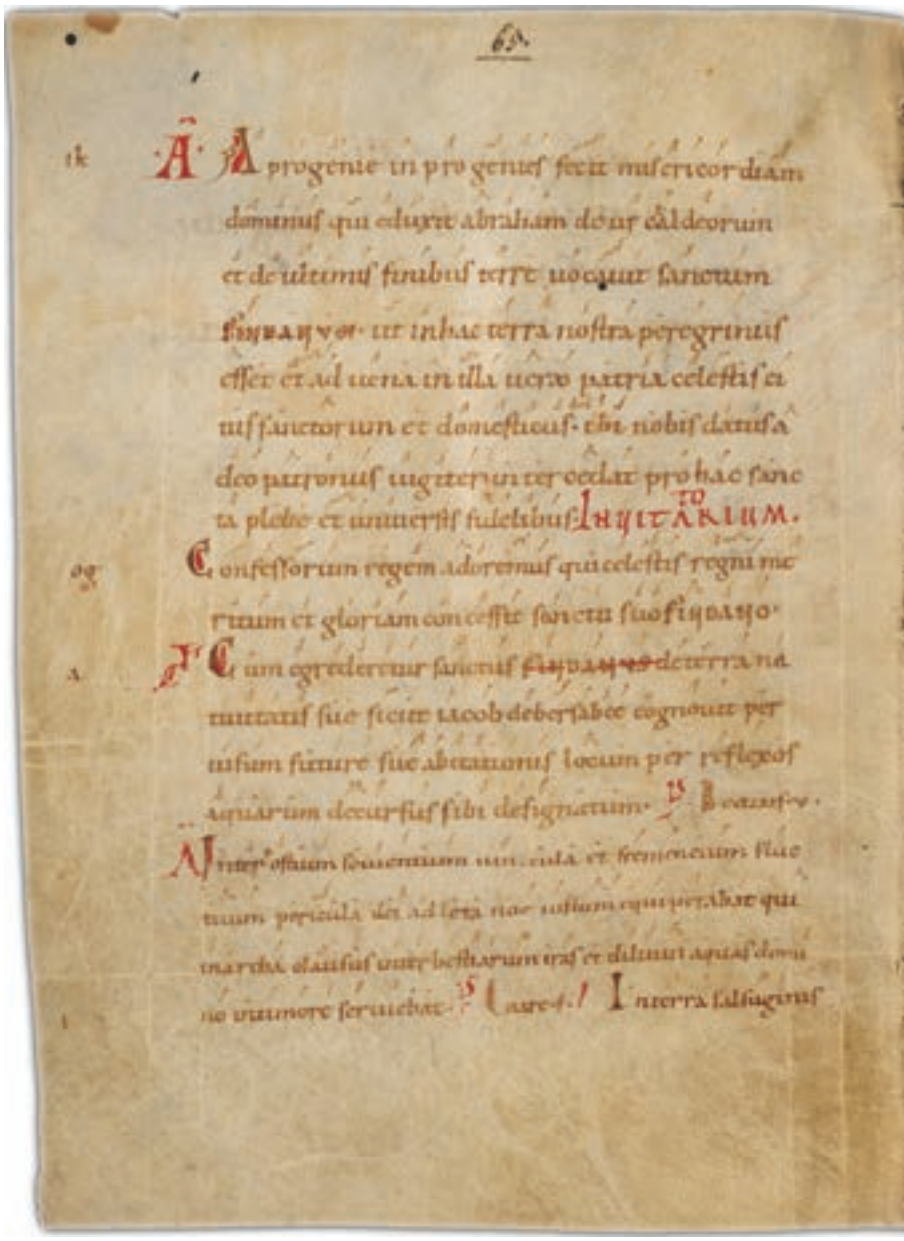

Plate II. A composite manuscript of the eleventh century containing the oldest surviving copy of *Historia Sancti Findani*. The neumes, attributable to the circle of St Gallen, are of the eleventh century and still retain occasional *litterae significativae*. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 103, p. 65. Reproduced with permission.

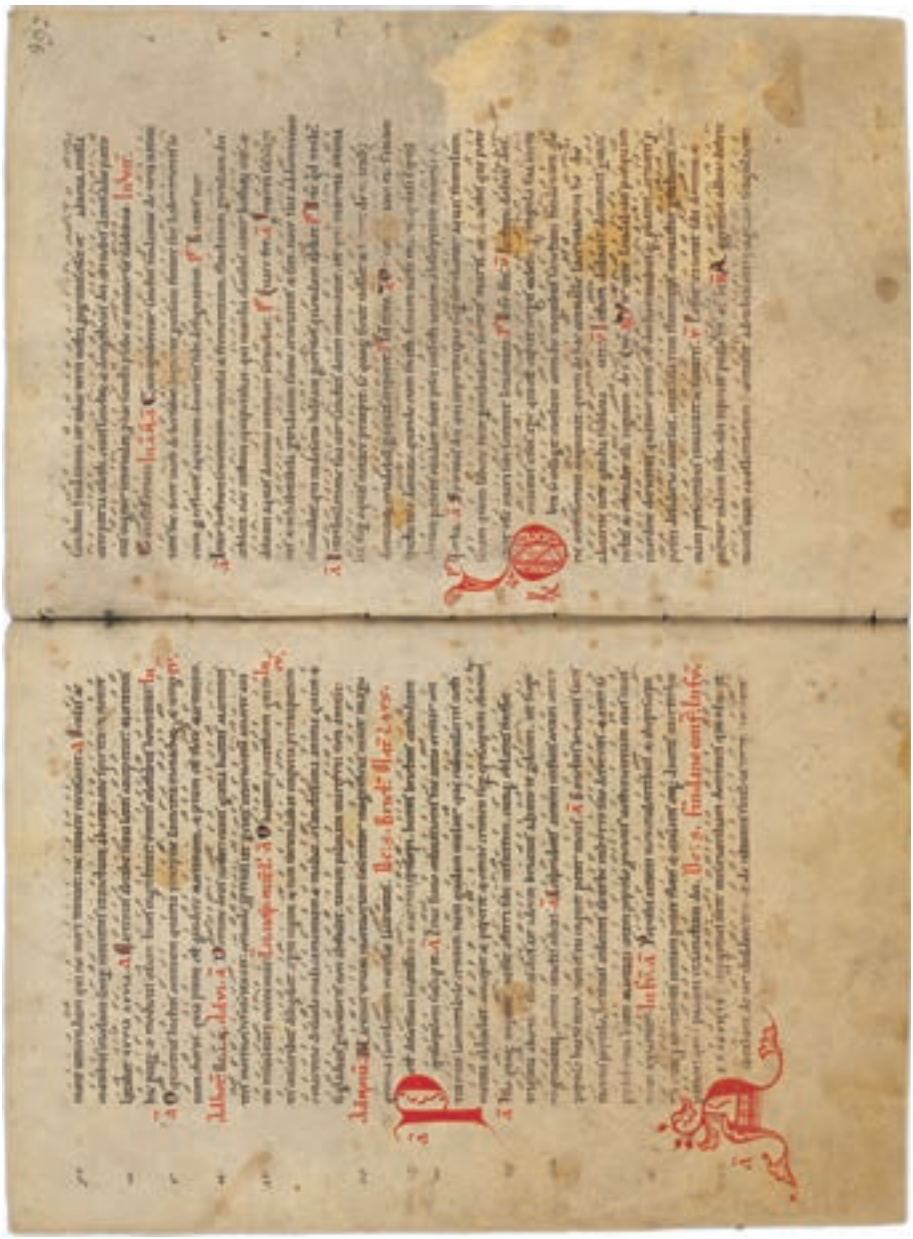

Plate III. Breviary with psalter which may have come originally from Weissenau. The melodies are written in German neumes and are provided with tonary letters. The first part of the *Vita Findani* is also added. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 28, pp. 591–92 (12th/13th c.). Reproduced with permission.

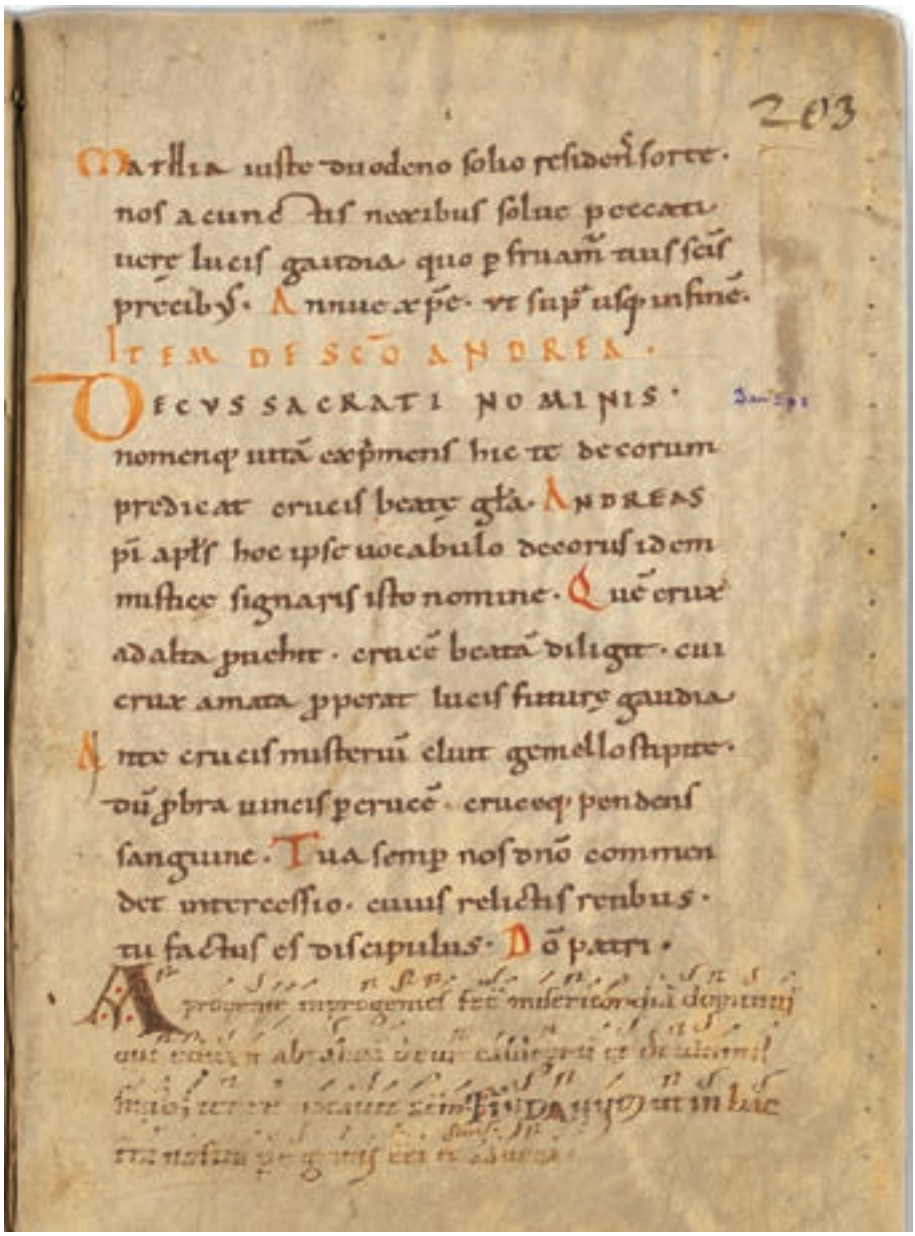

Plate IV. A composite manuscript from the eleventh and twelfth centuries containing a troper, gradual, and hymnal, which has preserved part of an antiphon for First Vespers for St Fintan from the mid-twelfth century. The German neumes are written in an inexperienced hand. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 97, p. 203. Reproduced with permission.

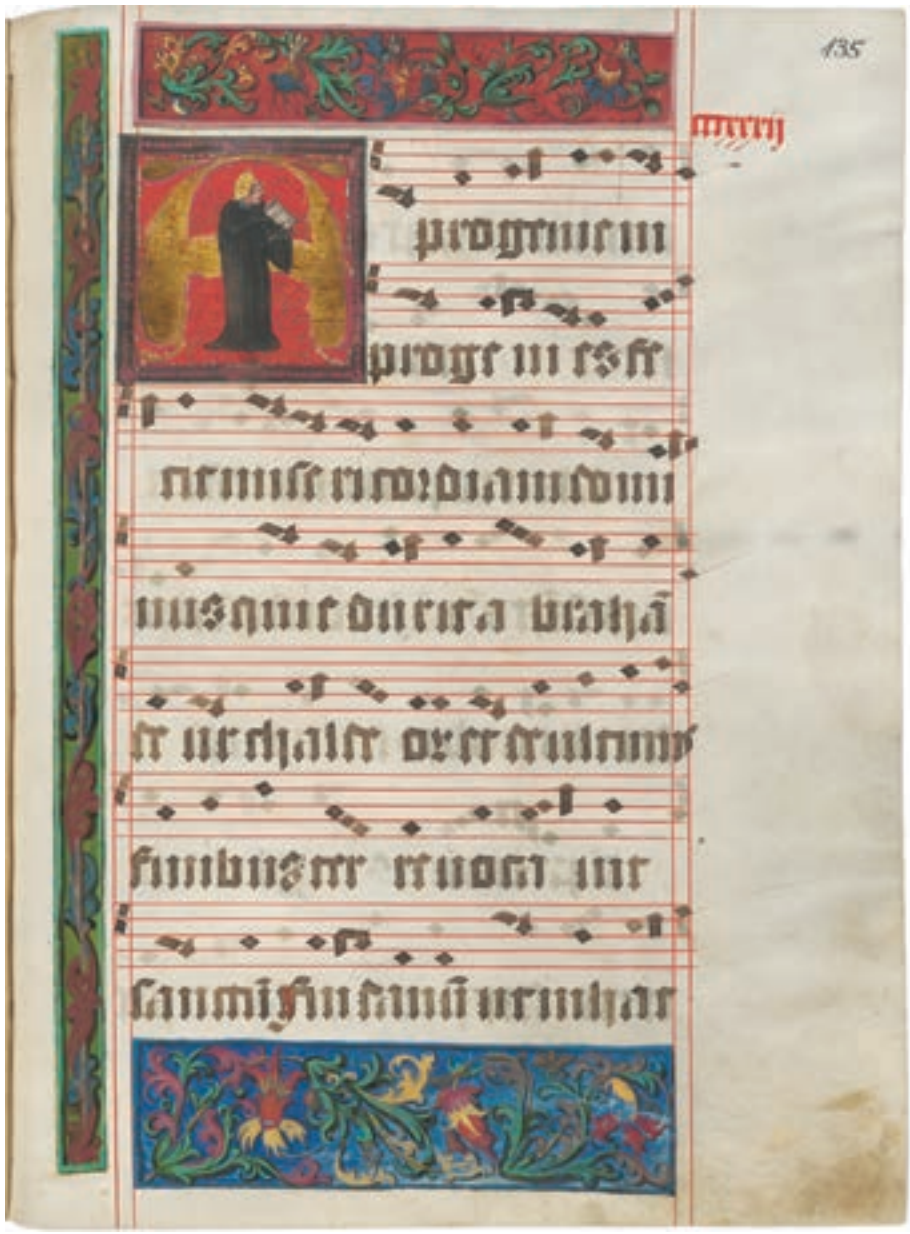

Plate V. Office of St Fintan in a four-volume antiphonary dating from the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Written in German chant notation, it was produced for the Rheinau Abbot Heinrich von Mandach (1498–1529) by Fr Benedictus Mett OSB of Prüfening (Diocese of Regensburg). Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 4, fol. 135^{r}. Reproduced with permission.

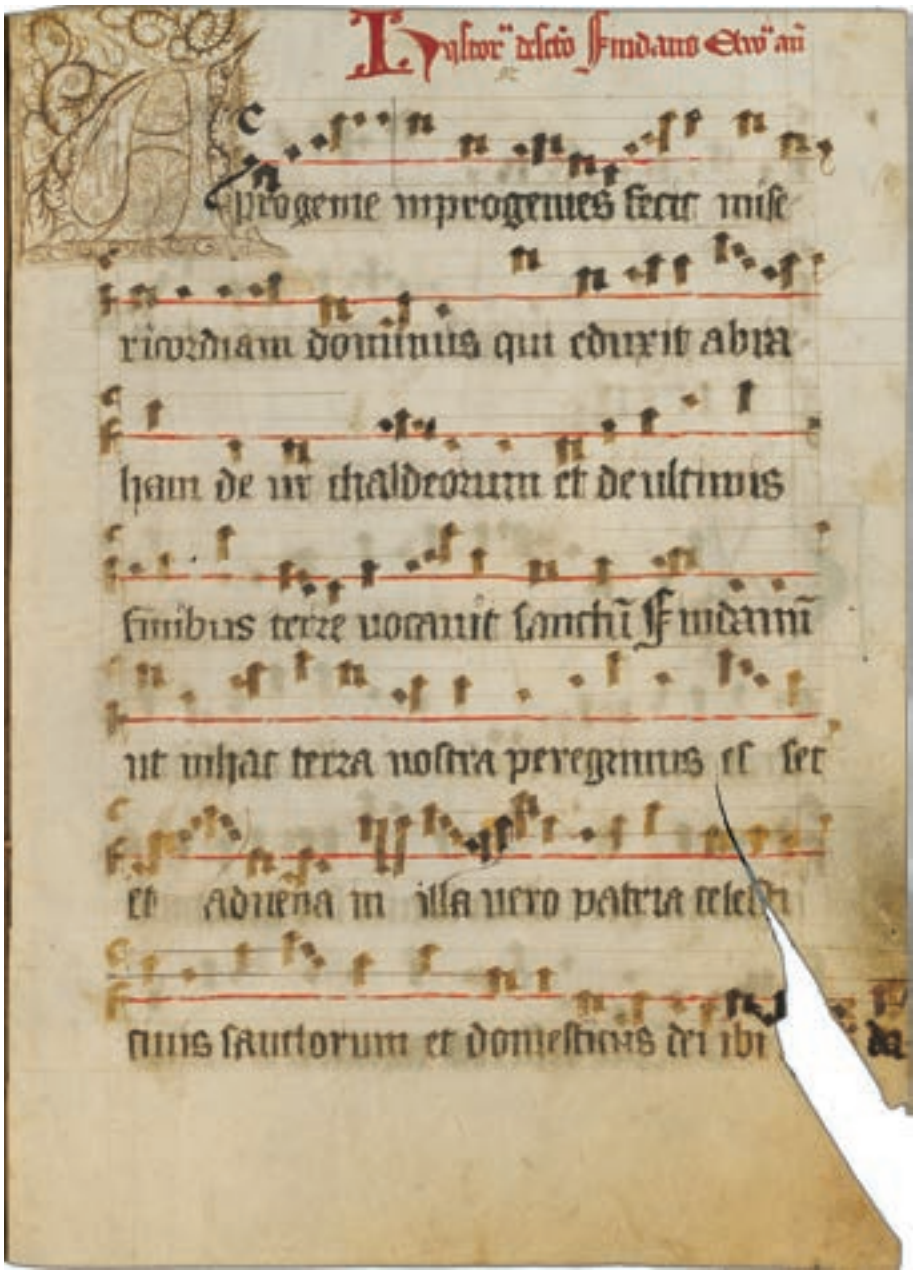

Plate VI. Fifteenth-/sixteenth-century antiphonary including the *Hystoria de scto Findano* as an addendum of the sixteenth century. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 16, fol. 97[r]. Reproduced with permission.

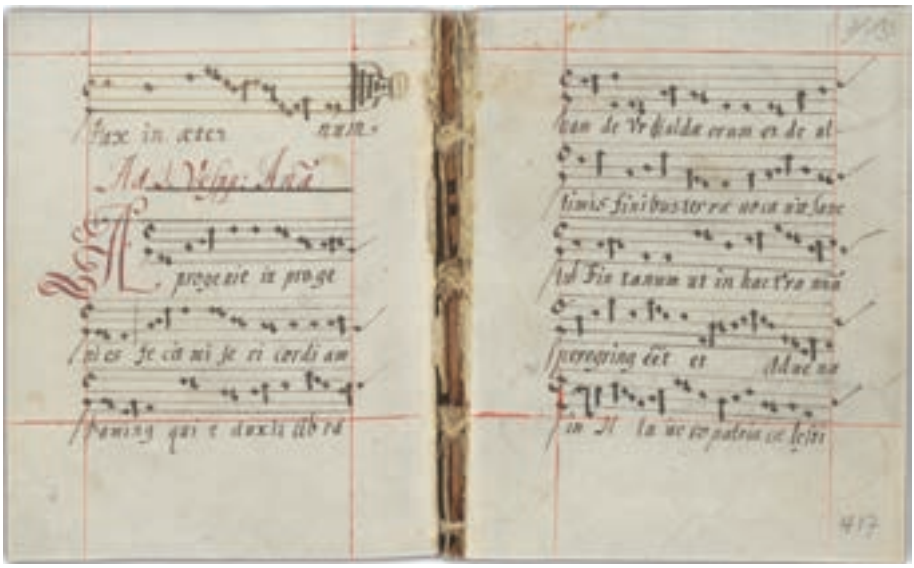

Plate VII. A Latin prayer book (15th/16th c.) which includes the *Historia Sancti Findani* as a seventeenth-century addition. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 157, pp. 414–15. Reproduced with permission.

concluded that Rh. 103 contains the oldest surviving copy of *Historia Sancti Findani*. The neumes, attributable to the circle of St Gallen, are of the eleventh century and still retain occasional *litterae significativae*.

MS Rheinau 28 (Plate III)

This breviary with psalter is from the twelfth/thirteenth century;[16] it may come originally from Weissenau and is said to have been written around the year 1200. The melodies are written in German neumes and are provided with tonary letters. The *Vita Findani* is also added, but only its first part, interestingly, without the account of the Rheinau period.

[16] For the date see the information provided by Albert Bruckner and Leo Cunibert Mohlberg (thirteenth century) and by Regula Puskás (last quarter of the twelfth century) in Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau', p. 61, n. 26.

MS Rheinau 97 (Plate IV)

A composite manuscript from the eleventh and twelfth centuries containing a troper, gradual, and hymnal, which has preserved part of an antiphon for First Vespers for Fintan on p. 203 (from the middle of the twelfth century).[17] The German neumes are written in an inexperienced hand, and somewhat carelessly.

MS Rheinau 4 (Plate V)

The fourth gathering of a four-volume, large-format antiphonary with *Temporale* (*Pars hiemalis* [wanting] and *Pars aestivalis*) and *Sanctorale* (in two parts). Since the feast of St Fintan occurs in the final part of the ecclesiastical year (15 November), his Office is found in the second part of the *Sanctorale*. The antiphonary volumes, which date from the first quarter of the sixteenth century, are written in German chant notation and were produced for the Rheinau Abbot Heinrich von Mandach (1498–1529) by Fr Benedictus Mett OSB of Prüfening (Diocese of Regensburg).[18]

MS Rheinau 16 (Plate VI)

This fifteenth-/sixteenth-century antiphonary contains part of the *Temporale* from Easter to Pentecost and includes the *Hystoria de scto Findano* as an addendum of the sixteenth century (fols 97^{r}–107^{v}). The addendum is closely related to the very calligraphically notated Office in Zürich MS Rh. 4, although the mutual interdependencies have not yet been explained.

MS Rheinau 157 (Plate VII)

A Latin prayer book from the fifteenth/sixteenth century[19] which contains the *Historia* essentially as a seventeenth-century addition with the title *Officium Perantiquum S. Fintani Confessoris Patroni ac Monachi Monasterij Rhenoviensis* (pp. 367–423); from p. 410 the individual chant texts are given again — they can also be found in their respective liturgical locations on the previous pages — but this time with their related melodies added.

[17] Puskas, *Die mittelalterlichen Mettenresponsorien*, p. 58, n. 13.

[18] The extant antiphonary volumes are dated as follows: II: 1518/19; III: 1519; IV: first quarter of the sixteenth century.

[19] See *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, I: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zürich: [n.pub.], 1952), p. 239; also Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau', p. 61, n. 28.

From Vita *to* Historia

A very elaborate process was involved in the reworking of elements from a saint's Life into Office chants; at times even identical turns of phrase are used as a common practice. An example will serve to clarify. The following relates to the point in the *Vita* where there is a stopover in Rheinau with the relics of St Blasius which are being brought from Rome to St Blasien, their final destination:

Vita	Office
Ut igitur Dominus desiderium pauperis, ut ait per prophetam, exaudiens, adimpleret ac famuli devotissimi vota rata esse concederet, eadem nocte visus est sibi pontem Rheni fluminis, per quem de ipso monasterio exitur, com copiosa multitudine transisse, **columbam** quoque **humeris suis insedisse**, et eam se, ut cupiebat, humeris deportasse; inde alios **petere**, **iterumque sibi volantem** adesse.[20]	Laudes, Ant. 6: Illuminatio cordis aspectu circa ortum aurore, vidit vir dei inter choros canentium **columbam** niveo candore fulgentem **se petere iterumque et iterum sibi advolantem humeris suis insedisse**.

In the Office — especially in one instance — the spirit of the Hirsau Reform can be seen to have had an impact on Rheinau in the form of a reinterpretation of a passage from the *Vita* that is given here. It concerns Fintan's definitive entry into the monastery of Rheinau.

Vita	Office
Tunc senior eius in proprio monasterio quod Rinuova vocatur eum monachizari fecit.[21]	I. Nocturn, Responsory 2: Vir vite laudabilis, postquam in ordine clericatus quatuor annis est, deo hominibusque probatus arcioris propositi desiderio accensus. In insula Reni fluminis monastice prefectionis normam presentibus initiavit et futuris.

The representation of Rheinau as an independent monastery (Wolvene's) in the *Vita* and also the circumstances under which Wolvene appointed Fintan as a monk were viewed with disapproval in a reform-minded monastery. Thus, in

[20] *Vita Findani*, ed. by Holder-Egger, p. 505, ll. 34–37.

[21] *Vita Findani*, ed. by Holder-Egger, p. 504, ll. 47–48.

this version of the Office, the initiative of entering monastic life is attributed wholly to Fintan, and not made dependent in the first place on a superior.[22]

The Structure of the Historia*: The Traditions*

The required number of proper chants are allotted to the individual Office hours according to the monastic *cursus*, but not all of the manuscripts were produced to the same level of 'completeness' (cf. the repertoire table in Appendix 1). In that connection the only partial inclusion of the Magnificat antiphon for First Vespers, *A progenie in progenies*, in Zürich MS Rh. 97 is conspicuous. After the word '*advena*' — more or less in the middle of the antiphon — the entry breaks off right in the middle of the line. Furthermore, there are no other Office chants included in this manuscript, and it is unclear what purpose this fragment might have served.

In the case of the other manuscripts, the pattern of transmission is close between the two earlier sources (Zürich MSS Rh. 103 and 28) and between the two later ones (Zürich MSS Rh. 4 and 16). Zürich MS Rh. 157 adopts a special position since there the text is entered in the form of an addendum from the seventeenth century. The presentation of the Psalms in the First and Second Nocturns in Zürich MSS Rh. 103 and 28 is striking: for First Nocturns in particular, they are congruent, and for Second Nocturns in Zürich MS Rh. 103, they are either added occasionally in the margins or are completely absent. In Zürich MS Rh. 157 the layout of the Psalms is not the same as for the two earlier manuscripts, 103 and 28. In Zürich MSS Rh. 4 and 16 no Psalms are included. The fourth responsory in the First Nocturns (*Iustum deduxit*) is given only as an incipit and only in Zürich MSS Rh. 28, 14, and 16; the fourth responsory of Second Nocturns (*O laudanda*) is likewise represented only by its incipit in Zürich MSS Rh. 103, 28 and 16. They are derived from the *Commune Sanctorum* (*pro uno confessore*). In Zürich MS Rh. 157 another responsory is entered at this point.[23] The same applies to the third responsory of the *Ad cantica* (= Third Nocturns), *Ora pro nobis*, the incipit and text of which are found only in Zürich MSS Rh. 28 and 157, respectively. Finally, the antiphons for Second Vespers occur only in Zürich MS Rh. 103, and only as incipits, of which two make reference to the antiphons of First Nocturns (*Cum egrederetur* and *Direxisti viam eius*). The other two are taken from a *Commune*

[22] Löwe, 'Findan von Rheinau', p. 99, n. 175.

[23] Rh. 157: Nocturn 1, *Vir israelita*, Nocturn 2, *Servus meus es tu*.

Sanctorum. The scribe of Zürich MS Rh. 28 makes do at the place of Second Vespers with the reference '*Ant. Iocundus cum reliquis*' to a series of antiphons which do not belong to the Fintan Office, and thus at the same time assures the Vesper Psalms associated with them. For Second Vespers, Zürich MS Rh. 157 cross-refers to the set of antiphons for Lauds with '*Mirabilis in altis ut sup.*'. In general, the choice of liturgical pieces which focus on the narrower repertory relating to Fintan is a feature of all of the manuscripts — with the exception of Zürich MS Rh. 97 — and the variants arise mainly in case of the Psalm verses used for the antiphons, antiphons for Second Vespers, and in particular, individual responsories and antiphons which are taken from a *Commune Sanctorum* and thus cannot be associated primarily with the local saint, Fintan of Rheinau.

From Neumes to Hufnagel Notation — Modal Structure — Melodies

In the context of manuscript presentation, brief mention was already made of the musical notation through which the melodies of the Office are represented. There, too, the wide chronological distance between the two manuscript groups, Zürich MSS Rh. 103 and 28 on the one hand, and Zürich MSS Rh. 4 and 16 on the other, may be observed. Thanks to the late copy on staves in German chant notation, it is possible at least to reproduce a melodic outline. Even from a brief comparative glance at the adiastematic neumes of the two earlier manuscripts and the melodies on staves of the later exemplars, a whole range of differences is easy to see. Thus Zürich MSS Rh. 4 and 16 and those few chants which are added to the text in Zürich MS Rh. 157 hardly differ at all.[24] On the other hand, all of the neumed manuscripts differ from one another, and also from the manuscripts in diastematic notation: single and double ligatures in Zürich MSS Rh. 4 and 16 instead of three-note neumes, and vice versa; single notes in downward or upward movement instead of the opposite in the neumed manuscripts. This strongly suggests that, at least in the case of Zürich MSS Rh. 4 and 16, a thorough editorial revision must have been undertaken, an example followed also in Zürich MS Rh. 157.

The reconstruction of the older neumatic editions is possible only in a few instances. Notable above all is the observation that the *Libellum Findani* in Zürich MS Rh. 103 was compiled by some seven different text and four distinc-

[24] In Rh. 157, the following are provided with a melody: 1V-Am, *A progenie in progenies*, L-A1, *Mirabilis in altis*, L-A2, *Pro redimendis captivis*, L-A3, *In terra deserta*, L-A4, *Corde contrito*, L-A5, *Divina voce desuper*, 2V-Am, *Specialis noster iste patronus*.

tive neume copyists. Immediately the questions arise as to whether the Office in Zürich MS Rh. 103 in its disparate appearances really represents the first recension, and how the edition of the repertory in its later (yet closed) version came about — questions to which the answers still remain open.

The modal structure of the entire *Historia* appears to be very much planned and regular (see the tables on 'Modal Structure' in Appendix 2). The modal cycle begins with the antiphons for First Nocturns and concludes with those for Second Nocturns. The third antiphon of the Second Nocturn begins again with Mode 1; this sequence is immediately concluded because the succeeding antiphons no longer belong to the actual group of Fintan pieces. Only at Lauds does the cycle begin again, and once more concludes with Mode 7 for the Magnificat antiphon for Second Vespers. The same applies to the sequence of responsories which begins with First Nocturns, ends at Responsory 3, continues again at Second Nocturns, and reaches Mode 8 by the second responsory of the *Ad cantica*. Since the *Ad cantica* still needs to be provided with its own responsory, it begins again with Mode 1. The 'tonary letters' — insofar as they are present — are distributed with the modes, exactly as in the diastematic manuscripts.

The musical style of the repertory of antiphons and responsories conveys an impression of both older and relatively 'modern' elements. While the almost completely unrhymed prose structure of the text provides an older foundation for the musical superstructure, the often syllabic musical setting of the antiphons and a rather more melismatic one for the responsories confirm this essential feature of a 'classical' nature. The ambitus of the chants rarely exceeds an octave, but scale runs of a rising and falling fourth, and of fifths only in descending form, also point to a regularly designed stylistic process. Three and more melodic leaps in succession (in sequence)[25] are occasionally used, but they could not be regarded as characteristic of the style as a whole. Conversely, there is hardly any individual chant — whether antiphon or responsory — where leaps of a fourth and a fifth do not frequently arise. Sequences of two thirds in succession — particularly in the Lydian mode — are encountered relatively frequently. Along with the clearly modal ordering of the chants, and the 'conventionally classical', there are also a few elements which speak for a qualified 'modern' style.

[25] For example, R. *Dominus Ihesus*, l. 4, *gaudia sublevavit*; R. *Vir vite laudabilis*, l. 5, *presentibus initia*; A. *Vir iste sine macula*, l. 2, *requievit, donec persequentem*.

Appendix 1

Historia *of St Fintan of Rheinau: Repertory-Comparison with Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MSS Rh. 103, 28, 97, 4, 16, and 157*

Abbreviations (used in both appendixes)

1V	=	*Primae Vesperae*
2V	=	*Secundae Vesperae*
A.	=	Antiphona
Ab	=	Antiphona ad Benedictus
Ac	=	Antiphona ad Cantus
Am	=	Antiphona ad Magnificat
Ben.	=	Benedictus
C.	=	Cantica
i.m.	=	in margine
Inv.	=	Invitatorium
L	=	Laudes
M	=	Matutina
Mag.	=	Magnificat
Ps.	=	Psalmus
R.	=	Responsorium
×	=	present
–	=	absent
*	=	incipit only present
+	=	text only, without melody

		Incipit	V./Ps.	Function	MS Rh. 103	MS Rh. 28	MS Rh. 97	MS Rh. 4	MS Rh. 16	MS Rh. 157
Ad primas vesperas										
1	A. ad Mag.	A progenie in progenies		1V-Am	×	×	× (only partially)	×	×	×
Ad matutinas										
2	Inv.	Confessor regem adoremus	Venite	M-I	×	×*	–	×	×*	×+
In primo nocturno										
3	A.	Cum egrederetur sanctus Findanus		M-A1	×; Ps. Beatus vir*	×; Ps. Beatus vir*	–	×	×	×+; Ps. Beatus vir*
4	A.	Inter hostium sevientium		M-A2	×; Ps. Quare fremuerunt*	×; Ps. Quare fremuerunt*	–	×	×	×+; Ps. Quare fremuerunt*
5	A.	In terra salsuginis		M-A3	×; Ps. Domine quid*	×; Ps. Domine quid*	–	×	×	×+; Ps. Cum invocarem*
6	A.	In tribulatione sua		M-A4	×; Ps. Cum invocarem*	×; Ps. Cum invocarem*	–	×	×	×+; Ps. Verba mea*
7	A.	Direxisti viam eius		M-A5	×; Ps. Verba mea*	×; Ps. Verba mea*	–	×	×	×+; Ps. Domine dominus*
8	A.	Spiritus dei qui in principio		M-A6	×; Ps. Domine dominus*	×; Ps. Domine dominus*	–	×	×	×+; Ps. In domino confide*
9	R.	Dominus Iesus Christus qui est caput corporis	V. Iustum deduxit	M-R1	×	×	–	×	×	×+
10	R.	Vir vitae laudabilis	V. Passer invenit	M-R2	×	×	–	×	×	×+
11	R.	Aggressus ad hoc districtionis	V. Super aspidem	M-R3	×	×	–	×	×	×+
12	R.	Iustum deduxit		M-R4	–	×*	–	×*	×*	Vir israelita+

In secundo nocturno										
13	A.	Vir iste sine macula		M-A7	×; i.m. Ps. Domine quis*	×; Ps. Domine quis*	–	×	×	×+; Ps. Domine quis*
14	A.	Homines ignotos de longe aspiciens		M-A8	×; i.m. Ps. Domine in virtute*	×; Ps. Domine in virtute*	–	×	×	×+; Ps.: Domine in virtute*
15	A.	Per diversa sanctorum loca cupiens		M-A9	×; Ps. Domini est terra*	×; Ps. Domini est terra*	–	×	×	×+: Ps. Domini est terra*
16	A.	Iste pauper		M-A10	×*; i.m.	×*; Ps. Benedicam*	–	×*	×*	×+; Ps. Benedicam*
17	A.	Beatus quem		M-A11	×*; i.m.	×*; Ps. Te decet*	–	×*	×*	×+; Ps. Te decet*
18	A.	Iustus ut palma		M-A12	×*(?); i.m.	×*; Ps. Bonum est confiteri*	–	×*	×*	×+; Ps. Bonum est confiteri*
19	R.	Orationi sine intermissione	V. Media nocte	M-R5	×	×	–	×	×	×+
20	R.	Tanta ei erat abstinentia	V. Non in solo pane	M-R6	×; V. Non in solo pane*	×	–	×	×	×+
21	R.	Inter alia virtutum	V. Oculi omnium	M-R7	×	×	–	×	×	×+
22	R.	O laudanda		M-R8	×* i.m.	×*	–	–	×*	Servus meus es tu+
Ad cantica										
23	A. ad C.	In divinis laudibus		M-Ac	×	×; V. Magna est gloria*	–	×	×	×+; Cant. Beatus vir*
24	R.	Dimisit dominus	V. Ad nihilum	M-R9	×	×	–	×	×	×+
25	R.	Maiori adhuc mentis certamine	V. Cadent a latere	M-R10	×	×	–	×	×	×+

		Incipit	V./Ps.	Function	MS Rh. 103	MS Rh. 28	MS Rh. 97	MS Rh. 4	MS Rh. 16	MS Rh. 157
26	R.	Ora pro nobis		M-R11	–	×*	–	–	–	×+; V. Tu autem
27	R.	Post multiplices	V. Pretiosa dei	M-R12	×	×	–	×	×	×+
Ad laudes										
28	A.	Mirabilis in altis dominus fidelem		L-A1	×	×	–	×	×	×
29	A.	Pro redimendis captivis		L-A2	×	×	–	×	×	×
30	A.	In terra deserta		L-A3	×	×	–	×	×	×
31	A.	Corde contrito et spiritu humilitatis		L-A4	×	×	–	×	×	×
32	A.	Divina voce desuper		L-A5	×	×	–	×	×	×
33	A. ad Ben.	Illuminato cordis aspectu		L-Ab	×	×	–	×	×	×+
Ad secundas vesperas										
34	A.	Cum egrederetur sanctus		2V-A1	×*	Ant. Iocundus* *cum reliquis*; Ps. Beatus*	–	–	–	Mirabilis in altis *ut sup.*
35	A.	Direxisti via eius		2V-A2	×*	–; Ps. Credidi*	–	–	–	
36	A.	Vir iste sine		2V-A3	×*	–; Ps. Ad Dominum*	–	–	–	
37	A.	Induit		2V-A4	×*	–; Ps. De profundis*	–	–	–	
38	A. ad Mag.	Specialis noster iste patronus		2V-Am	×	×	–	×	×	×

Appendix 2

Historia *of St Fintan of Rheinau: Modal Structure*

		Incipit	V./Ps.	Function	Mode	Tonary Letters
Ad primas vesperas						
1	A. ad Mag.	A progenie in progenies		1V-Am	3	103: ik / 28: –
Ad matutinas						
2	Inv.	Confessor regem adoremus	Venite	M-I	4	103: og / 28: –
In primo nocturno						
3	A.	Cum egrederetur sanctus Findanus	Ps. Beatus vir	M-A1	**1**	103: a / 28: a
4	A.	Inter hostium sevientium	Ps. Quare fremuerunt	M-A2	**2**	103: – / 28: e
5	A.	In terra salsuginis	Ps. Domine quid	M-A3	**3**	103: – / 28: i
6	A.	In tribulatione sua	Ps. Cum invocarem	M-A4	**4**	103: og / 28: og
7	A.	Direxisti viam eius	Ps. Verba mea	M-A5	**5**	103: ub / 28: ub?
8	A.	Spiritus dei qui in principio	Ps. Domine dominus	M-A6	**6**	103: H / 28: H
9	R.	Dominus Iesus Christus qui est caput corporis	V. Iustum deduxit	M-R1	*1*	103: a / 28: –
10	R.	Vir vite laudabilis	V. Passer invenit	M-R2	*2*	103: e / 28: –
11	R.	Aggressus ad hoc districtionis	V. Super aspidem	M-R3	*3*	103: ic / 28: –
12	R.	Iustum deduxit*		M-R4	–	28: –
In secundo nocturno						
13	A.	Vir iste sine macula	Ps. Domine quis	M-A7	**7**	103: – / 28: yc
14	A.	Homines ignotos de longe aspiciens	Ps. Domine in virtute	M-A8	**8**	103: – / 28: ωd
15	A.	Per diversa sanctorum loca cupiens	Ps. Domini est terra	M-A9	**1**	103: – / 28: ab

		Incipit	V./Ps.	Function	Mode	Tonary Letters
16	A.	Iste pauper*	Ps. Benedicam	M-A10	–	103: – / 28: –
17	A.	Beatus quem*	Ps. Te decet	M-A11	–	103: – / 28: –
18	A.	Iustus ut palma*	Ps. Bonum est confiteri	M-A12	–	103: – / 28: –
19	R.	Orationi sine intermissione	V. Media nocte	M-R5	*4*	103: – / 28: –
20	R.	Tanta ei erat abstinentia	V. Non in solo pane	M-R6	*5*	103: – / 28: –
21	R.	Inter alia virtutum	V. Oculi omnium	M-R7	*6*	103: – / 28: –
22	R.	O laudanda*		M-R8	–	28: –
Ad cantica						
23	A. ad C.	In divinis laudibus	V. Magna est gloria	M-Ac	7	103: – / 28: –
24	R.	Dimisit dominus	V. Ad nihilum	M-R9	*7*	103: – / 28: –
25	R.	Maiori adhuc mentis certamine	V. Cadent a latere	M-R10	*8*	103: – / 28: –
26	R.	Ora pro nobis*		M-R11	–	28: –
27	R.	Post multiplices	V. Pretiosa dei	M-R12	*1*	103: – / 28: –
Ad laudes						
28	A.	Mirabilis in altis dominus fidelem		L-A1	**1**	103: – / 28: a
29	A.	Pro redimendis captivis		L-A2	**2**	103: – / 28: e
30	A.	In terra deserta		L-A3	**3**	103: – / 28: i
31	A.	Corde contrito et spiritu humilitatis		L-A4	**4**	103: – / 28: oc
32	A.	Divina voce desuper		L-A5	**5**	103: – / 28: ub
33	A. ad Ben.	Illuminato cordis aspectu		L-Ab	**6**	103: – / 28: H
Ad secundas vesperas						
34	A.	Cum egrederetur sanctus*	Ps. Beatus	2V-A1		103: – / 28: –
35	A.	Direxisti via eius*	Ps. Credidi	2V-A2		103: – / 28: –
36	A.	Vir iste sine*	Ps. Ad Dominum	2V-A3		103: – / 28: –
37	A.	Induit*	Ps. De profundis	2V-A4		103: – / 28: –
38	A. ad Mag.	Specialis noster iste patronus		2V-Am	7	103: – / 28: y

1, 2, 3, 4, ... = Modal sequence of the Antiphons

1, 2, 3, 4, ... = Modal sequence of the Responsories

Letetur Hybernia, Jubilans Antverpia: The Chant and Cult of St Dympna of Gheel

Pieter Mannaerts*

In memory of Leo Mannaerts (1952–2009)

The early history of the relationships between Ireland and continental Europe is inextricably connected to the Irish saints.[1] Some of them travelled to the Continent with the explicit mission to spread Christianity,

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[1] For the activities of Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries, see Ludwig Bieler, *Ireland, Harbinger of the Middle Ages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963); Bennett D. Hill, 'Missions and Missionaries, Christian', in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Joseph Strayer and others, 13 vols (New York: Scribner, 1982–89), VIII (1987), 439–45; Edward James, 'The Northern World in the Dark Ages, 400–900', in *The Oxford History of Medieval Europe*, ed. by George Holmes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 59–108; Ian Wood, 'Christianisation and the Dissemination of Christian Teaching', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick and others, 7 vols in 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995–2005), I (2005), 710–34.

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others without such a mission. This paper is concerned with a saint who — according to her legend — was driven across the sea by fate rather than by deliberate decision, St Dympna.

To date, relatively little attention has been given to the presence of Irish clerics, or to the culting (including liturgical veneration) of Irish saints, in the Low Countries. References to the Irish in that region can be found in narrative sources, saints' lives and legends, where their Irish, Scottish, or Anglo-Saxon origin is mentioned with varying degrees of accuracy.[2] The *Vita prima Gertrudis* (*BHL* 3490), for example, mentions that monks from overseas came to the Benedictine abbey founded by St Gertrude in Nivelles in order to teach chant. Some have supposed that these monks were Irish, although the *Vita* does not specify their origin.[3] On the other hand, the rhymed Middle Dutch version of the legend of St Brendan (*Navigatio Brandani*) presents its principal character in the second verse as *heere in Yerlant*, a lord from Ireland.[4] Liturgical sources that document devotion to Irish saints are relatively scarce. Some of the most important Irish saints, such as Columbanus and Gall, must have been known in the Low Countries (Columbanus by his Rule), although no liturgi-

[2] Bernard Forthomme recalls that over one hundred saints from Ireland, working as Christian missionaries, are documented in Germany; around fifty in France and England, thirty-six in (present-day) Belgium, and twelve in Italy; Bernard Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste: De l'inceste royal au placement familial des insensés*, Théologie Plurielle (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), p. 62.

[3] For example, John Lanigan, *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the First Introduction of Christianity among the Irish to the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century*, 4 vols (Dublin: Graisberry, 1822), II, 464–67. Lanigan also mentions several other Irish saints in the Low Countries; his summary reads as follows: 'Foillan and Ultan, brothers of Fursey, go to Brabant, together with some other Irishmen, upon the invitation of St Gertrude abbess of Nivelle — they erect monasteries and die — the martyr St Livin a native of Ireland — left Ireland, and with three companions went into Belgium — his labours in converting the Pagan inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant — is murdered by a multitude of pagans — the holy virgin Dympna flies [*sic*] to the Continent from her father, a pagan, who wishes to marry her — is murdered by him — St Fridolin the traveller — founds several churches and monasteries in the Continent — several other Irish saints who illustrated France and Belgium by their piety and zeal — St Madelgar or Maldegar, surnamed Vincent, an Irishman' (pp. 431–32). See C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1984), pp. 46–47.

[4] See <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/wilm003reis02_01/wilm003reis02_01_0005.php>; also Frits Van Oostrom, 'Stemmen op schrift: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur vanaf het begin tot 1300', in *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur*, ed. by Arie Jan Gelderblom and Anne Marie Musschoot, 8 vols (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006–10), I.1 (2006), 185–94; cf. also the contribution by Patricia M. Rumsey in the present volume.

cal musical sources exist for them in that part of Europe. The *vita* of St Oda of Brabant (*BHL* 6263), who is venerated in the same region with a cult centred in Oedenrode (North Brabant), recounts that she was of noble origin and fled Ireland ('Igitur beata et venerabilis Oda Scota fuit natione') to the Continent to escape marriage.[5] No chants in honour of Oda of Brabant — not to be confused with Oda of Amay — are known, and in general liturgical materials have survived for only a handful of saints. The texts of a complete liturgical proper Office in honour of Rumold (Rumoldus of Mechelen) survive, but no chants. According to some, Rumold was the son of a king David of Ireland ('Tota insula [...] haec illa est Scotia', *BHL* 7381).[6]

The case of Dympna is more fortunate because liturgical texts and chants are extant, even though the Office chants are incomplete. In addition, other materials have been preserved that bear testimony to the regional and European interest in this Irish saint. The *Vita* of Dympna of Gheel,[7] offering a number of parallels to Oda's life, describes her Irish origins and journey overseas in an attempt to escape her father's evil intentions. It is this *Vita* and the liturgical sources that the present paper will take as a point of departure.

In contrast to Oda or Rumold, Dympna's fame as a saint spread throughout Europe over the centuries. It was long believed that she was also venerated in her 'homeland', Ireland, that is, that she is to be identified with the Irish saint Damhna(i)t. This theory is no longer supported by current scholarship, although as recently as 2004 Bernard Forthomme described a number of Irish 'Dympna'-traditions as age-old local devotions transmitted orally for centuries.[8] In 1818, Aeneas Lamont attempted to lend greater credibility to the

[5] Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, 'Woudvrouwen, Ierse prinsessen als kluizenaressen in de Nederlanden', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis*, 20.1 (1994), 1–23; Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, p. 63.

[6] William D. O'Kelly, *Historica descriptio Hiberniae seu majoris Scotiae, insulae sanctorum* (Wien: Andreas Heyinger, 1838; repr. Dublin: Graisberry, 1838), p. 59 (no. 46), reports that Ferreolus Locrius (in *Chronicum Belgicum ab anno cclviii ad annum usque mdc continuo perductum* (Arras: Guillaume Rivière, 1616)) calls him 'Scotorum regis filii'. Cf. Ike de Loos, 'Saints in Brabant: A Survey of Local Proper Chants', *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch tijdschrift voor muziekwetenschap*, 55 (2001), 9–39; a rhymed Office is edited in *AH*, XIII, no. 88, pp. 228–31, but no musical sources survive.

[7] The current Dutch spelling is 'Geel'.

[8] See Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), s.v. 'Damhnad of Tedavnet (Teach Damhnadan)'. Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, pp. 47–50, does not specify his sources; the only reference he supplies is to Gerard Tierney's study, *St Dympna the Patron Saint of Lavey* (Killyconnan: N.S. Centenary Committee, 1999),

Irish part of the legend by concluding her versified legend of Dympna with the remark that 'the bodies of Dympna and the priest were afterwards searched for, and taken over to Ireland, where Dympna was canonized: she is still honoured as a saint in the Irish Calendar'.[9] The identification of Dympna with Damhnait can be traced to at least 1658, and probably reaches further back. In 1658, the Premonstratensian canon Ludolphus van Craywinckel pointed out that Dympna was venerated in several places in Ireland, such as Teach-Damphnod (the 'house' or church of Dympna) in the diocese of Armagh, and in Louth in the diocese of Clogher.[10] Furthermore, it has been claimed that Monaghan, in the region of Oriel, and the dioceses of Ardagh and Clonfert observed the veneration of Dympna.[11] Dympna's case seems to differ in several respects, then, from other Irish saints in the Low Countries, such as Rumold and Oda, and thus merits closer investigation. The present contribution hopes to provide a regional and international context for the local chants in Dympna's honour by illustrating her cult in the Low Countries and elsewhere on the European continent, following its trace through several centuries.

The Vita Dympnae *and Dympna's Cult in Gheel*

The earliest written testimony to Dympna's cult is her *Vita* (*BHL* 2352). It was written at the request of a bishop Guido of Cambrai by Peter, canon regular of St Autbert in Cambrai. Peter's text addresses a certain Stephen of Brava, *persona* of Gheel, with the request to send it to Bishop Guido.[12]

which I have not been able to consult. On the Irishness of Dympna, cf. also Pierre Dominique Kuyl, *Gheel vermaerd door den eerdienst der Heilige Dimphna: Geschied- en oudsheidskundige beschryving der kerken, gestichten en kapellen dier oude vryheid* (Antwerpen: J.-E. Buschmann, 1863), pp. 39–43; Alain Dubreucq, 'Le mariage dans la *Vie* de sainte Dymphe', in *Mariage et sexualité au Moyen Âge: accord ou crise?*, ed. by Michel Rouche, Cultures et civilisations médiévales, 21 (Paris: Presses Paris–Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 53–68, especially pp. 62–63; Gorik Goris, 'Sint-Dimpna, een Keltische prinses uit Ierland?', *Jaarboek van de Vrijheid en het Land van Geel*, 37 (2002), 161–74.

[9] Aeneas Lamont, 'Dympna: An Irish Legend', in *Poems and Tales in Verse* (London: Ogles, Duncan & Cochran, 1818), pp. 155–79.

[10] As referred to by Kuyl, *Gheel*, p. 95; Meredith Hanmer, *The Chronicle of Ireland* (Dublin: Society of Stationers, 1633; repr. Dublin: Hibernia Press, 1809), p. 143: 'the Irish in the county of Louth doe honour her; belike her father dwelt there'.

[11] Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 95–96.

[12] See Ferdinand Heuckenkamp, 'Die heilige Dimphna' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Königliche vereinigte Friedrichs–Universität Halle–Wittenberg, 1887), p. 7.

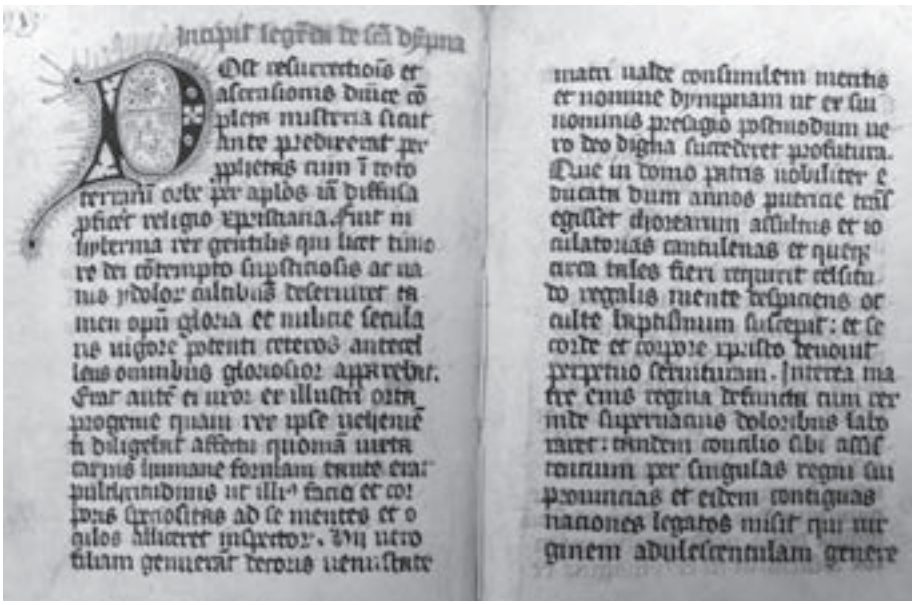

Figure 7.1. First folio of the *Vita Dympnae* in a fifteenth-century manuscript from the Parish Church of St Dympna, Gheel. Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., fol. 1r. Copyright: Gasthuismuseum Geel.

Given the distance between Gheel and Cambrai, the *persona* must have been an episcopal representative. Stephen of Brava is mentioned in a charter of 1247 at Gheel. This implies that the bishop must be Guido I (1238–47), also known as Guiard de Laon, archdeacon of the church of Troyes, later canon at Notre Dame in Paris, appointed chancellor of the University of Paris in 1237 and Bishop of Cambrai the following year. In this last quality Guiard issued the first diocesan statutes of his diocese, which promoted the cult of saints.[13] Commissioning a saint's *vita* seems to have been part of this strategy. Indeed, the prologue to the *Miracula* (*BHL* 2353) makes clear that the actual order must have come from the Bishop rather than from Stephen of Brava.[14] The *Vita* can thus be dated to the middle of the thirteenth century, probably around 1247.[15] The actual legend of Dympna, however, must be older: Peter

[13] Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', pp. 55, 67–68.

[14] Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', p. 56.

[15] Heuckenkamp, 'Die heilige Dimphna', p. 8; Léon Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique* (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1907), pp. 313–20.

emphasizes that he wrote his text on the basis of an earlier Dutch account, possibly from oral tradition.[16]

According to this legend and Peter's *Vita*, Dympna was an Irish princess, daughter of a pagan king. Her mother had converted to Christianity and educated her daughter as a Christian. The Queen died young, and her husband was inconsolable. Only one woman could compare to her: her own daughter. Therefore the King was possessed by a diabolical desire for his own daughter, but she rejected his advances. Together with her confessor, Gerebernus, Dympna fled to the Continent, first to Antwerp, then to Gheel; they lived in a hamlet called Zammel, near Gheel. They were pursued by Dympna's father who had heard the news and shortly afterwards arrived in Antwerp. In a village called Westerlo he was helped by an innkeeper who recognized the coins with which he paid, because they resembled those used by Dympna. The Irish King tracked them down and repeated his proposal. When Dympna refused again, the King had Gerebernus killed and ordered his men to kill Dympna as well. Because they also refused, he decapitated her with his own sword.[17] According to tradition, the murders took place on 30 May 600. Because of her father's rage and madness that led him to kill his own daughter, Dympna became the patron saint of the mentally ill; she is often depicted with a sword and a devil at her feet. The martyred bodies were buried on the spot. The burial site became a place of devotion, and increasing numbers of pilgrims came to visit it, making a translation necessary.[18] According to the concluding episode of the *Vita*, two white sarcophagi were found instead of two wooden coffins when the bodies were disinterred. On Dympna's chest a red tile was found with her name inscribed on it. A few material traces of the coffins and the tile survive to this day. The second part of the *Vita*, the *historia miraculorum*, includes an account of the

[16] 'De vulgari eloquio in Latinum redigerem idioma'; Godefridus Henschenius, 'De SS. Dympna Virgine et Gereberno Sacerdote, Martiribus Gelae in Brabantia', in *AASS*, Mai. III, 477–97, prol. 1.

[17] For summaries in historical sources (selection), see Franciscus Haraeus, *Vitae Sanctorum, ex probatissimus authoribus et potissimum ex Surio, brevi compendio summa fide collectae* (Antwerpen: Plantin and Moretus, 1590), pp. 365–67; Hanmer, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, pp. 140–43; Pietro De Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum cioè Vite de' santi* (Venezia: Nicolo Pezzana, 1704), II, 251–53; Pedro [Pietro] De Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum [...] en que se contienen las vidas de los santos*, III (Madrid: Augustin Fernandez, 1716), pp. 194–98. For syntheses in modern literature, cf. Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', pp. 62–63.

[18] Dated variously to the eleventh or twelfth century (Kuyl, Forthomme), or to the first half of the ninth (Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', p. 67).

removal of part of the relics by thieves from Xanten who managed to get away with most of Gerebernus's remains (except for his skull). The relics were taken to Sonsbeck (on the Lower Rhine, in the present-day German state of North-Rhine–Westfalia) where a chapel was built in honour of Gerebernus.[19] The rest of the miracle stories recount the healing of the physically or mentally ill.

The significance of the *Vita* has been evaluated variously, depending on which elements are regarded as central to the legend: the journey overseas, the Irish or royal origins of the saint, and Dympna's martyrdom and decapitation.[20] It has been described, for example, in terms of an exemplum, demonstrating the illicitness of incestuous relationships and showing its satanic character,[21] as a justification of the cult of relics and an explanation of the division (or theft) of Gerebernus's relics,[22] or as a foundation legend for the town of Gheel.[23] (Dympna's relics were probably elevated to the altar around the middle of the twelfth century.)[24] In addition, literary scholars have pointed to the similarity with the tale type *Peau d'âne* and to literary stories such as *Manekine* (dated *c.* 1240) and its variants.[25]

As usual, the historicity of Dympna's *Vita* is difficult to verify, although the remaining relics in her shrine provide some orientation. They were re-examined in 2002. The carbon-14 dating of the bones revealed that the remains of three thigh bones (two probably female, one probably male) may have belonged to two individuals who died at the same time, probably in the eighth century, a

[19] Cf. Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 53–54, 102–07.

[20] Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, pp. 64–65; Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', pp. 63–64.

[21] Anne Savage, 'Clothing Paternal Incest in The Clerk's Tale, Emaré and the Life of St Dympna', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne. Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 345–61; Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', pp. 61–68; Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, p. 100, points out that the *Vita* speaks of Belial as the ghost that animates Dympna's father's anger.

[22] Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', pp. 66–67 ('partage des reliques'); Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, pp. 57–61.

[23] Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, p. 69.

[24] Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, pp. 68–75, dates this veneration of relics to the tenth or eleventh centuries; with reference to W. Steurs, 'Une seigneurie en Campine: Gheel au XIIIe siècle', in *La Belgique rurale du Moyen Âge à nos jours: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Jacques Hoebanx*, ed. by J.-L. Delattre, ULB, Faculté de philosophie et de lettres, 95 (Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, 1985), pp. 101–20 (p. 102).

[25] Cf. Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', pp. 60–65, for further bibliography.

date that corresponds to that of the remnants of two stone sarcophagi that have been preserved. The jawbone is not related to the other relics and is probably to be dated *c*. 1000.[26] Around the turn of the millennium, a new parish church was built which occasioned the making of a new wooden reliquary. Upon opening the stone sarcophagus, a red tile with the inscription 'DIMPHNA' was found, as the *Vita* recounts. Together with parts from the sarcophagus and the skeleton, it was placed in the new reliquary.[27]

While these material remains offer a relatively reliable dating, it is still unclear when or in which order the feasts in honour of Dympna became customary. Neither the *Vita* nor the *historia miraculorum* mentions any dates for them. The two main feasts are those of Dympna's death (*decollatio*), observed on 30 May, and of the elevation of her relics, on 15 May. The events they celebrate suggest that the feast of 30 May could be the older of the two.[28] Some of the sources, however, show that the liturgical texts for the feast of the *decollatio* are later than those for the feast of the elevation.[29] Eventually the latter became the more important of the two. It is difficult to establish when this happened — as early as the twelfth century according to Kuyl.[30] It is clear, however, that most of the surviving liturgical sources (from the fifteenth century and later) consider the feast of 15 May as the principal, or even the only, one.[31] In Gheel, additional feasts were celebrated on the Tuesday after Pentecost when Dympna's relics were carried around in procession, and on several other days.[32]

[26] Mark Van Strydonck, Mathieu Boudin, and Anton Ervynck, 'Isotopisch onderzoek van de beenderen toegeschreven aan de Heilige Dimpna en de Heilige Gerebernus', *Jaarboek van de Vrijheid en het Land van Geel*, 37 (2002), 175–90; Mark Van Strydonck, Anton Ervynck, Marit Vandenbruaene, and Mathieu Boudin, 'Dimpna, Gerebernus en de oorsprong van de Geelse gezinsverpleging', in *Relieken, echt of vals?* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2006), pp. 101–10.

[27] Kuyl, *Gheel*, p. 139, dates this reliquary to the middle of the twelfth century.

[28] This hypothesis is supported by Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 75–77, who adds that the importance of the 30 May celebrations declined from the middle of the twelfth century onwards.

[29] For example, the prayer *Florido quondam tempore* for the feast of the beheading of Dympna is a later addition to one of the two *Vita* manuscripts (Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., fol. 31^{r}); the text is given in Appendix 2.

[30] Kuyl, *Gheel*, p. 43, 57; Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', p. 60, even states that the feast moved from 30 May to 15 May, which was not the case, at least not for Gheel.

[31] For example Adrien Baillet, *Les vies des saints, composées sur ce qui nous est resté de plus autentique [sic] et de plus assuré dans leur histoire disposées selon l'ordre des calendriers et des martyrologes avec l'histoire de leur culte*, nouvelle édition, 10 vols (Paris: Louis Genneau, 1739), IV, 277–78.

[32] Baillet, *Les vies des saints*, IV, 277–78; Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 78–79. Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 72–85,

The cult of Dympna seems to have gained firmer roots in Gheel in the first half of the thirteenth century. Around 1225, the Berthout family had made Gheel into a separate seigneury; and with Henry I Berthout, they became the promoters of the cult of Dympna. A decade later, the same Henry obtained city rights for Gheel.[33] Around the same time, two chaplaincies in honour of Dympna were founded in her church.[34] In 1247, the year in which the *Vita* was possibly written, a new parish church was dedicated in Dympna's honour.[35] At least by 1286 the institution of a hospital (*valetudinarium*[36]) dedicated to the Virgin and Dympna was confirmed by its *Regula vitae*, often understood as a foundation letter, dated August 1286. The hospital flourished in the following centuries, as papal bulls of 1330, 1412, and 1431 recognize the intercession of Dympna in the healing of patients.[37] In 1357, Goswin, a priest at the Church of St Amand in Gheel, founded a chaplaincy in honour of Dympna at the hospital.[38] In the meantime, construction work for another new parish church had begun (1349) — the Church of St Dympna, which was completed in 1479 and is still standing today. From 1412, processions with Dympna's relics are documented.[39] They played a central role in healing rituals of the mentally ill of Gheel: the circumambulation of the church and a triple passing under the Dympna reliquary was one of the acts of penance to be made by the patients of the hospital.[40]

further mentions Easter, Easter Monday, Ascension, St Mark's day, the Rogation Days, Pentecost Monday, the day after Corpus Christi, and the Dedication feast of the Church of St Dympna (on the Sunday after the Nativity of the Virgin, 8 September).

[33] Mulder-Bakker, 'Woudvrouwen', pp. 19–20.

[34] Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 90, 254.

[35] Ioannes Ludolphus van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt: Het leven, martelie, ende mirakelen van de H. Maeghdt ende martelersse Dympna dochter van den coninck van Irlandt patronersse van de wyt-vermaerde Vryheyt van Geel*, 2nd edn (Mechelen: Robert Iaye, 1658); cited by Mulder-Bakker, 'Woudvrouwen', p. 20.

[36] Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', p. 59.

[37] Forthomme, *Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, p. 183n.

[38] Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 90–91.

[39] Van Strydonck and others, 'Dimpna', p. 104.

[40] Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, pp. 346–402, summarized with commentary by Kuyl (*Gheel*, pp. 66–68) and Forthomme (*Sainte Dympna et l'inceste*, pp. 191–201); cf. Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', p. 59. Traditionally, seven acts of penance were to be made by the mentally ill: (1) upon arrival, confession and Communion when possible; (2) circumambulation of the church and passing thrice under the reliquary of the saint; (3) a nine-day stay in the *ziekenkamer* (or *sieckenkamer*); (4) hearing Mass daily during these nine days; (5) not changing

Figure 7.2. The parish Church of St Dympna in Gheel (1349–1479), with the *sieckenkamer* next to the tower. Photo: Pieter Mannaerts.

That the cult of Dympna knew some regional dissemination from the fourteenth century onwards is suggested by a letter of indulgence sent from the papal chancery in Avignon on 6 April 1363 to the convent of Cistercian nuns in Herkenrode (near Hasselt), in the neighbouring diocese of Liège.[41] Eighteen

clothes during these nine days; (6) offering the equivalent of one's weight in food (grain); (7) distribution of this votive gift. From an unknown point in time, and up to and including today, it became customary for the ill to live with the inhabitants of Gheel. It is this unique model of caring for the sick that has continued to fascinate the world from the mid-nineteenth century onwards; cf. Emilio Pi y Molist, *Colonia de orates de Gheel (Bélgica): Descripcion histórico-médica de este antiguo y singular establecimiento manicómico*, Memoria leida á la Academia de Medicina y Cirurgía de Barcelona (Barcelona: Tomas Gorchs, 1856); 'Lunacy Abroad: A Colony of Mad Men', *New York Times*, 13 October 1875; 'A Colony of Lunatics: How the Harmless Insane Are Cared for in Belgium', *New York Times*, 26 October 1879; 'Pauper Insane at Gheel: A Colony where Lunatics Live with Peasants', *New York Times*, 23 March 1891.

[41] A brief overview of cult places in the Low Countries is given by Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 96–107;

bishops at the court of Urban V (1362–70) confirmed that an indulgence of forty days was to be given to those that attended liturgical celebrations on specific festivals, such as Corpus Christi, Marian feasts, and the feasts of Hubert and Lambert, saintly bishops of Liège, and also on the feast of Deodigna. It is almost certain that, like 'Digna', 'Deodigna' indicates St Dympna.

Liturgical Chant in Honour of Dympna

By now, the musicologist reading these pages probably wonders when the Dympna chants announced earlier will enter this story. Surprisingly, the sources answering the question are almost three centuries later than the *Vita* of the saint. They demonstrate that around the mid-sixteenth century the Church of St Dympna — raised to the rank of collegiate church in 1562 — celebrated a proper liturgy in honour of Dympna. Musical sources for the cult of Dympna are extremely scarce. The Hospital Museum of Gheel (Gasthuismuseum) possesses a gradual, an antiphoner, a leaf from the Office manuscript, and two *vitae* manuscripts. Altogether these contain the music of two sequences, one hymn (for Vespers), and part of a proper Office. This Office material is sadly incomplete: only the chants of First Vespers and half of the night Office or Matins (up to the fifth responsory) have survived. The complete Office texts were published in 1863 and 1896–97, but the remainder of the music has since disappeared.[42]

The gradual and antiphoner, in their original state, did not contain any chants for Dympna. The gradual bears the date of 1538 (fol. 21^{v}); a proper Mass formulary and a sequence were added around the middle of the seventeenth century. The antiphoner probably dates from the same time. A separate manuscript with a proper Office for Dympna, smaller in size than the gradual and the antiphoner, was written probably in the mid-sixteenth century as well. Two extant bifolia from this Office manuscript were inserted in the gradual, and one

Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', p. 59, 65n; Judith Oliver, 'The Herkenrode Indulgence, Avignon and pre-Eyckian Painting of the Mid-Fourteenth-Century Low Countries', in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven, 7–10 September 1993*, ed. by Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, vol. VIII of *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Maurits Smeyers, Low Countries Series, 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), pp. 187–205.

[42] Kuyl, *Gheel*, and *AH*, XXIII, 162 (nos 273–74, hymns), *AH*, XXV, 243–46 (no. 87, Office). De Loos, 'Saints in Brabant', p. 21, surmises that the loss must have occurred before 1970 when the church treasure was transferred to the Dympna and Hospital Museum, and possibly during the 1943 fire at the Dympna church.

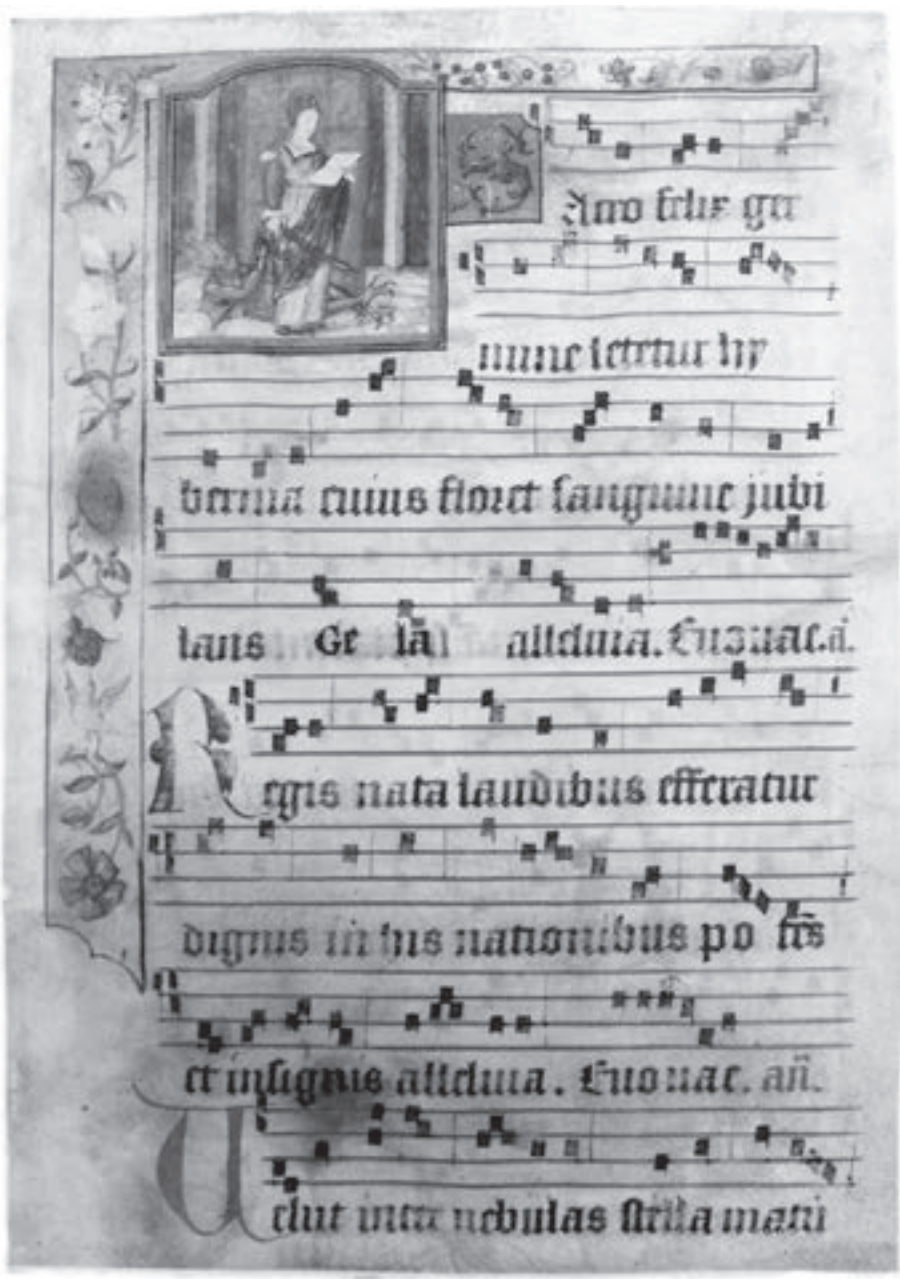

Figure 7.3. First Vespers antiphons of the Dympna Office. Gheel, Dympna-en Gasthuismuseum, s.s., fol. 1v. Copyright: Gasthuismuseum Geel.

leaf (fol. 1) remains as an individual parchment folio. This Office source was in all likelihood copied specifically for Gheel, given that the collegiate church would have been the only institution to require such a manuscript.

It is remarkable that every chant of the Office ends on the word 'alleluia'; this was systematically omitted in the 1897 *AH* edition but retained in Kuyl's edition of 1863. The reason for the 'alleluia' may lie in the liturgical time of the year: because both of the Dympna feasts are celebrated in May, they can occur during Eastertide when the *Alleluia* returns to the liturgy after weeks of absence between Septuagesima and Easter. The lesser hours of the Easter ferias, or the antiphons of Vespers and Compline of Easter Saturday, for example, have so-called alleluiatic antiphons, chants with texts that consist only of the word 'alleluia'.[43] But the return of the *Alleluia* is even more pervasive. Beginning with Vespers of Easter Saturday which precede the Easter Vigil, the word 'alleluia' was used systematically as the last word of (most of) the other chants of the Office, as can also be seen from the Gheel Antiphoner from folio 114^{r} on.[44] This pervasive use of *Alleluia* as a chant text, either integral or partial, was continued until the end of Eastertide, that is, until and including the Saturday after Pentecost.[45]

This is important information for the Dympna Office. Given that Easter must fall between 22 March and 25 April inclusive, Eastertide must end between 16 May and 19 June inclusive.[46] This means that, when Easter is late, both Dympna feasts may fall within Eastertide. When Easter is early, the feast of 15 May (the Feast of the Elevation of the Relics) always falls within Eastertide. The feast of 30 May, however, might fall outside of Eastertide, which does not fit with the conspicuous use of 'alleluia' as the final word of every chant. It must be concluded, then, that the Dympna Office was intended for the feast of the elevation of the relics, 15 May, a feast that would always fall within Eastertide.

It does not seem likely that a complete proper Office was sung at a parish church without vicars or canons; therefore the Office may have been composed no earlier than 1532, 1538, or even 1562. Only in 1538 did the Church of St

[43] *MMMO*, p. 218. Similarly, the *Alleluia* chant is omitted from Mass between Septuagesima and Easter, and replaced with the tract at Mass. From Easter Saturday until the Friday after Pentecost, the gradual is replaced with an *Alleluia*, resulting in two consequent *Alleluia*s at Mass; cf. *MMMO*, pp. 85–86.

[44] Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, Antiphoner s.s., fols 114^{r}–192^{v}.

[45] *MMMO*, p. 10.

[46] *MMMO*, p. 278.

Table 7.1. Overview of the extant and lost Dympna Office chants.
Abbreviations: A: antiphon; B: Benedictus antiphon; I: invitatory antiphon; M: Magnificat antiphon; N: nocturn; R: responsory; V: responsory verse

Office Chant	Incipit	Folio	Original order	Mode
Vespers I				
A1	Sacro felix germine	L^{r}	1^{r}	1
A2	Regis nata laudibus	L^{r}		2
A3	Velut inter nebulas	L^{r}		3
A4	Patris ob insaniam	L^{v}	1^{v}	4
A5	Ne nos premat Egyptius	L^{v}		5
R	Virgo metu*	227a^{r}	2^{r}	—
M	Beata que metuit	227a^{r}		1
Matins				
I	Iubilemus hodie salvatoris Domini	227a^{r}		1
N1				
A1	In magnificentia Dei super celos Dympna	227a^{v}	2^{v}	1
A2	Aspernando seculum cum insigni prole suum	227a^{v}		2
A3	Mente pura munda corde	114a^{r}	3^{r}	3
R1	Ortus in Hybernia	114a^{r}		1
V	In honore conditam	114a^{v}	3^{v}	1
R2	A beato Gereberno	114a^{v}		2
V	Idolorum vanos ritus	114a^{v}		2
R3	Suo fenix tempore	114b^{r}	4^{r}	3
V	Frequens mente memori	114b^{r}		3
N2				
A4	Omnis decor filie	114b^{v}	4^{v}	4
A5	Hec regio septa munimine	114b^{v}		5
A6	Mundum carnem demonium quia vicit	227b^{r}	5^{r}	6
R4	Quasi stellis luna lucidior	227b^{r}		4
V	Forma decens aspectu	227b^{v}	5^{v}	4
R5	Tanto captus a de rose	227b^{v}		5

Office Chant	Incipit	Folio	Original order	Mode
V	Promittens divitias	227b^{v}		5
R6	Virgo metu nec dono	—		—
V	Corde credit et ore	—		—
N3				
A7	Dympne sanctimonia	—		—
A8	Eius in circuitu	—		—
A9	Ad honorem nominis	—		—
R7	Vigor huius virginis	—		—
V	Bona coniugatio	—		—
R8	Tandem regnum pro domo	—		—
V	Rubens foris et intus nivea	—		—
R9	Admiratur ratio	—		—
V	Nobis in perpetuum	—		—
Lauds				
A1	Sanctam Dympnam Dominus	—		—
A2	Cordis cum letitia	—		—
A3	Tota mente fugiens	—		—
A4	Vernans signis	—		—
A5	Omnes terre termini	—		—
B	Festiva ne tardaveris	—		—
Vespers II				
M	Exsultans in filiis	—		—

* The abbreviation refers to the now lost sixth responsory, 'Virgo metu nec dono frangitur'.

In the Folio column, L = loose folio in Geel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, s.s.;

114a–b = 2 folios bound between fols 114 and 115 of the gradual (Geel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, Gradual, s.s.);

227a–b = 2 folios bound between fols 227 and 228 of the same gradual.

Dympna receive a college of ten vicars, founded by John III of Merode.[47] It can hardly be a coincidence that the gradual of Gheel dates from that year. In 1559, the dioceses of the Low Countries were reorganized; Gheel, formerly part of the diocese of Cambrai, was now part of the new diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch where Dympna's cult is documented henceforth. In 1562, the college of vicars was raised to the rank of a collegiate chapter by Henry of Merode.[48] The chapter did not have a cantor as a separate function; only three canons are mentioned as *cantores*, mostly as teachers of the four choirboys.[49] Like the Berthout family in the thirteenth century, the De Merodes supported the town and church of Gheel (their coat of arms is on the opening folio) and the cult of Dympna throughout the sixteenth.

In the years following the composition of Dympna's Office, her proper liturgical veneration seems to have gained firmer ground in Gheel in the course of the seventeenth century. Confirmation can be found in one of the two *vita* manuscripts preserved in Gheel containing annotations in the margin as to the lessons to be read at Matins on Dympna's feast day (15 May) and throughout the following octave, as well as on the feast of the *decollatio* (30 May). (A different set of lessons, for the Second Nocturn only, circulated in the eighteenth century in the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch; the text is given in Appendix 2.) Furthermore, traces of Mass formularies can be found (Table 7.2). The most complete of these was added to the gradual of the Church of St Dympna. On folio 169^{r}, in the right and lower margins, indications of a Mass formulary for the feast of Dympna 'patrona nostra' (the feast of 15 May) and for that of the *Decollatio sancti Dympnae et Gereberni* (30 May) were added. These entries were written probably between 1642 and 1650, because several of them (but not those on fol. 169) were dated 1642, 1643, 1647, or 1650. The chant incipits and page numbers refer to the gradual's *Commune Sanctorum* which contained common chants for feasts of saints not considered important enough to have their own proper chants, according to a given category; among these categories were Apostles, martyrs, virgins, and con-

[47] The foundation act was signed on 23 May 1532, although the benefices of the vicars were instituted only on 24 June 1538. See Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 158–61; and on the foundations in the Dympna church, Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 254–68 (from 1533–64, pp. 259–61).

[48] The foundation act is dated 11 August; it is published in Aubertus Miraeus, *Opera diplomatica et historica*, 2 vols (continens codicem donationum piarum, diplomata Belgica, donationes Belgicas, et notitiam ecclesiarum Belgii), 2nd edn (Leuven: Aegidius Denique, 1723), I, 327–28; Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 170–91.

[49] Kuyl, *Gheel*, p. 186.

Table 7.2. Chants for the Dympna Mass formulary.

Chant[a]	**Gheel, Gradual**	**Liège, Missal**	**Munsterbilzen, Missal**
Rubric	Dympnae patronae nostrae		
IN	Loquebar	Gaudeamus	
AL	Adducentur	O virgo	
AL	Specie tua		
[Seq]	[Hac in die][b]		[Hac in die][c]
OF	Afferentur	Filiae regum	
CO	Confundantur	Diffusa est	
Rubric	Decollatio D&G		
IN	Gaudeamus	Gaudeamus	
AL	Specie tua		
[Seq]	[Hac in die]		[Hac in die]
OF	Filiae regum		
CO	Diffusa est		

[a] *Abbreviations*: AL: alleluia; CO: Communion; IN: introit; OF: offertory; Seq: sequence
[b] The sequence is a later addition to the gradual; no indication is given for which of the feasts it is to be used.
[c] The sequence is a later addition to the missal; no indication is given for which of the feasts it is to be used.

fessors.[50] The Dympna Mass chants were thus taken from these Common chants and are not specific to the feast of Dympna. A similar Mass formulary is preserved as an addition to a sixteenth-century Liège missal (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 3782, fol. 217v). These are not proper chants either. The sequence *Hac in die* appears to be the only proper Mass chant for Dympna. It was added to the late fifteenth-century missal of Munsterbilzen (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 9786–90, fol. 91v), and

[50] The Gheel Gradual (Geel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, Gradual s.s.) contains the following categories: one apostle (fol. 189r), one martyr (fol. 193v), several martyrs (fol. 199v), one confessor (fol. 212r), and votive Mass chants for the Virgin Mary (fol. 219r). There is no separate section for virgins, nor for bishops; on the other hand, the number of chants in the categories mentioned seems relatively large, allowing for further specific assignments such as those made in the marginalia.

while it is not mentioned on the same folio as the Mass formularies, it occurs also as a seventeenth-century addition to the gradual on folio 308^{r-v}.

Finally, a number of corrections can be found in the leaves of the proper Office which date probably from the seventeenth century. The most remarkable of these are the two places in the text where 'Antverpie' was changed to 'Gela', the first antiphon of First Vespers and the first responsory of Matins; in both cases the change was made quite crudely, distorting the original rhyme (see the texts in Appendix 1).[51]

Jubilans Antverpia, Jubilans Gela (1417–1520)

The late date of the Gheel sources of the Office and Mass formulary led Ike de Loos to think that no earlier liturgical material existed.[52] This may be true for the complete proper Office found in Gheel, but a number of fifteenth-century indications suggest that the formation of a proper liturgical cult had begun earlier, although there is no consistency between the sources as to the extent or rank of the feast. Many of these indications point to Antwerp as a centre of importance in the cultivation of devotion to Dympna. The earliest source is the ordinal of the Antwerp Church of Our Lady of 1417 where the feast of Dympna is mentioned as having three proper lessons to be read on 15 May.[53] The new Guild of the Longbowmen (*Jonge Handboog*) was founded in 1486, choosing Sebastian and Dympna as its patron saints and establishing its Dympna altar in 1491.[54] It is unclear to what extent the guild used proper chants and lessons

[51] Corrected in *AH*, xxv; not corrected in Kuyl, *Gheel*.

[52] De Loos, 'Saints in Brabant', p. 25.

[53] Antwerp, Diocesan archives, Archives of the Cathedral of Our Lady, Ordinal s.s., fol. 63^{r} and Calendar for May ('Dimpne virginis et martiris', 'iii lect. proprie'). Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, p. 94, remarks with regard to Dympna's cult in Antwerp and institutions in the region: 'In 't klooster van S. Michiels t'Antwerpen, in de kloosters van Tongerloo, Perck, Postel; item in de maegdelyke kloosters, tot Mechelen in ons klooster van Leliendaele, tot Herentals genoemt den besloten Hof van O. L.Vrouwe, tot Breda genoemt S. Cathaleynendael, word ook geviert alle jaeren met negen lessen den Feest-dag van de H. maghet Dympna, soo dat ons H. Ordre van ouds schynt seer toegedaen ende devoot geweest te zyn tot de H. maghet Dympna'. For further references to Dympna's cult in Antwerp, see Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 98–100.

[54] Kristine K. Forney, 'The Role of Secular Guilds in the Musical Life of Renaissance Antwerp', in *Musicology and Archival Research: Colloquium Proceedings, 22–23.4.1993*, ed. by Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelemans, and André Vanrie, Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, 46 (Bruxelles: Archives générales du Royaume, 1994), pp. 441–61 (pp. 448–49); see also Eugeen

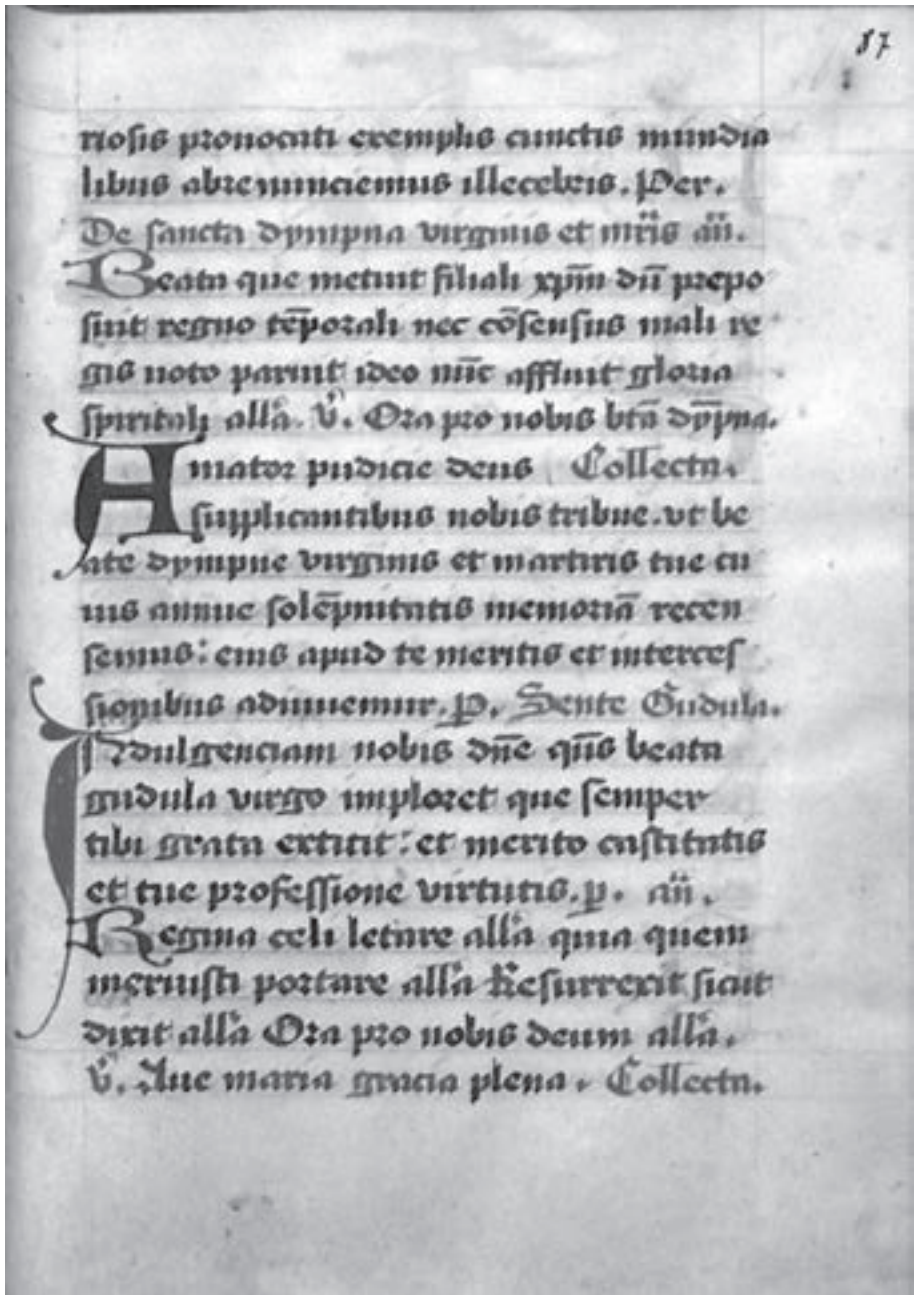

Figure 7.4. Magnificat antiphon *Beata qui metuit* and collect *Amator pudici[ti]e* in a fifteenth-century prayer book. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS II 278, fol. 87^{r}.

for the feast of Dympna; the liturgies of confraternities and guilds were often restricted to the hours of Vespers, Mass, and Lauds. Therefore the three lessons mentioned in the Antwerp Ordinal were not necessarily intended for the use of the guild: more likely, they reflect chapter usage — as does the Ordinal as a whole.[55] On the other hand, it is possible that the liturgical cult of Dympna at the church underwent changes, that is, reductions in the course of the century: the breviary for the Church of Our Lady of 1496 mentions the feast of Dympna only as a memorial.[56] Similarly, a fifteenth-century prayer book of unknown origin that once belonged to Edmond de Coussemaker and contains Latin and Dutch prayers (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS II 278, fol. 87r) also testifies to a memorial for Dympna. The antiphon that is used is *Beata qui metuit*, the Magnificat antiphon of First Vespers of the proper Office. This is the earliest correspondence between a liturgical source and an Office chant.[57] The second text, the collect *Amator pudicitie*, seems to be the most widespread Dympna prayer (text and sources are given in Appendixes 2 and 3).

Further support for the fifteenth-century cultivation of Dympna's cult in Antwerp may be found in the printed sources for her legend: Latin versions of the text were printed there in 1496 and 1520, and a Dutch legend appeared around 1510.[58] This 1510 imprint specifies in its explicit that Dympna's feast is generally celebrated on 15 May ('Item sinte Dimpnen dach en[de] hooechtijt coemt / altoes opten vijftiensten dach van meye'; 'St Dympna's Day and feast

Schreurs, 'Musical Life and Performance Practices in Antwerp during Lassus' Stay, 1554–1556', *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 1 (1995), 363–82 (p. 378).

[55] On music for guilds and confraternities, see Pieter Mannaerts, 'Die Bruderschaften und Zünfte und die kirchenmusikalische Praxis in den Niederlanden (14.–16. Jahrhundert)', in *Kirchenmusikalische Berufe, Institutionen, Wirkungsfelder — Geschichtliche Dimensionen und Aktualität*, ed. by Franz Körndle and Joachim Kremer, vol. III of *Enzyklopädie der Kirchenmusik*, ed. by Matthias Schneider and Wolfgang Bretschneider, 6 vols (Laaber: Laaber, 2015), pp. 101–22.

[56] *Pars Estiualis breviarij secundum morem Ecclesie Sancte Marie Antuerpiensis* (Venezia: Jean Hertzog, 1496), fols IXr and 137r.

[57] The text of the antiphon is given in Appendix 2, together with other Dympna antiphons and prayers that are not related to the proper Office.

[58] *Legenda Sancte Dympne virginis et martiris filie regis Hibernie* (Antwerpen: Go[vaert] Bac, 1496); *Dit is die legende va[n] sinte Dympnen* (Antwerpen: Henrick Eckert van Homberch, *c*. 1510); *Legenda sanctissime virginis et martyris Dympne cum multis novis additis: et eciam pulcherrima myracula* (Antwerpen: J. de Doesborch, 1520). The Dutch translation of the *Vita* was written in Brabant in the fifteenth century; see Yvonne Onkelinx, 'Het leven van de H. Dimpna', *Jaarboek van de Vrijheid en het Land van Geel*, 18 (1981), 74–132.

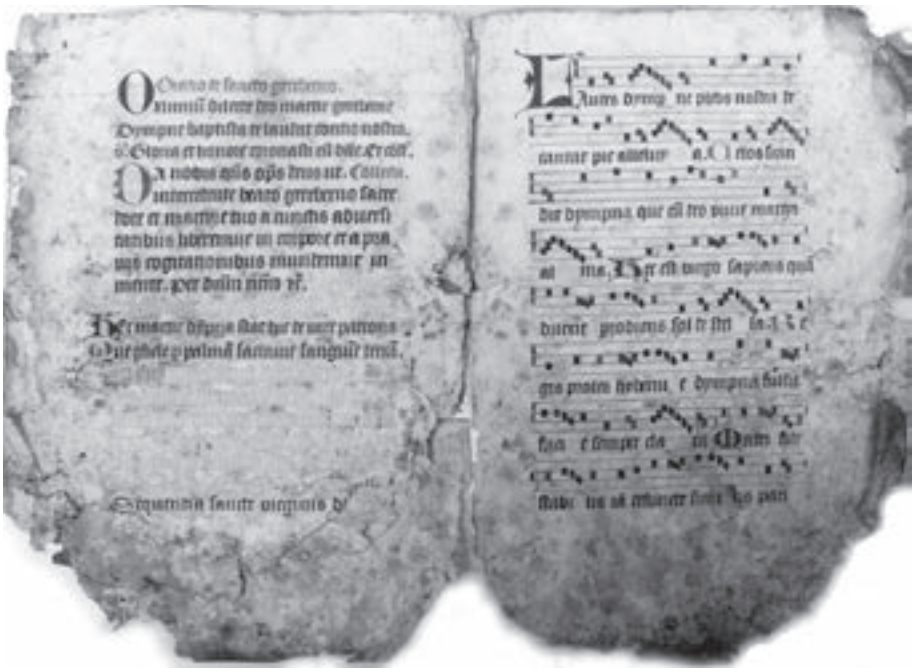

Figure 7.5. Beginning of the sequence *Laudes Dympne* in the second *Vita* manuscript from the Parish Church of St Dympna, Gheel. Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., fol. 27r. Copyright: Gasthuismuseum Geel.

always come on the fifteenth day of May'). Below the explicit, the book shows a winged unicorn with a white shield above its head and, around the unicorn's neck, a shield with the emblem of the city of Antwerp: the fortress *Het Steen* with its four towers, and as part of received tradition, two hands placed beside the two rear towers.

Obviously, the veneration of Dympna also flourished in Gheel in the fifteenth century. A tombstone dated to 1448 which still exists in Gheel contains the oldest image of Dympna: 'Hier leetht begraven meester Henrick van Tongheren die jonghe goutsmet van Hasselt die sterf int jaer ons Heren m° cccc° ende xlviii opten xxvii dach van loemaent. Bidt voer die ziele' ('Here lies buried Master Henry of Tongeren, the young goldsmith from Hasselt who died on 27 February 1448. Pray for his soul'). Hendrik had repaired several objects of the church treasure.[59] Close to Gheel, the Premonstratensian abbey of Tongerlo commissioned an altarpiece with the life of Dympna from Goswin

[59] Kuyl, *Gheel*, p. 140.

Van der Weyden (1465–1538), grandson of Rogier, in 1505. It was destined for the chapel dedicated to Dympna in the abbey's church.[60] Of greater liturgical and musical importance is the sequence found in one of the two *vita* manuscripts preserved in Gheel. It belonged to the parish Church of St Dympna and dates from the first half of the fifteenth century. Because there is no reason to believe that this sequence was a later addition, *Laudes Dympne* is the earliest item in the small corpus of proper Dympna chants. Comparison makes it clear that this sequence served as the model for both text and music of *Hac in die*, the sequence found in the Gheel Gradual and the Munsterbilzen Missal (see Table 7.2, above), even though there are differences in both text and music.[61]

A Counter-Reformation Celebrity

The cult of St Dympna arose around the remains of a man and a woman killed in the eighth century, a story that was committed to writing around the middle of the thirteenth, and gradually grew in importance until a full proper Office was composed in the sixteenth century, which possibly relied partially on pre-existing texts and perhaps even chants. From the Counter-Reformation onwards, Dympna's fame and legend grew to European proportions: a remarkable number of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century imprints mention her name and legend. She is conspicuously present in Spanish and Italian works, where her name is mostly spelled 'Dimpna' or 'Dimna'.

One of the earliest of these is Carlo Tomasi's *La passione del Signore*, printed in Rome in 1570, which briefly compares Dympna's martyrdom to that of the sixth-century saint Ermenegild.[62] Four years later, Dympna is mentioned in a litany appended to a Venetian publication, Denis the Carthusian's *De quatuor hominis novissimis*.[63] Starting in the 1590s, Dympna's legend begins to be

[60] For further details on Dympna's cult in Tongerlo, see Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, ch. 11, and Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 96–98. On Goswin Van der Weyden, see most recently Paul Vandenbroeck, *Een laatmiddeleeuwse schilderijencyclus van Goswin Van der Weyden met het Leven van de H. Dympna (1505): Een onderzoek naar de psychoarcheologie van een Vlaamse heilige* (Antwerpen: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, 2009).

[61] A sixteenth-century inscription on fol. 1 of the manuscript reads '*L[iber] Ecclesiae B. Dympnae*'.

[62] 'Ermenegildo figliuolo del Rè di Spagna, Dimpna figliuola del Rè d'Hibernia, l'uno, e l'altro uccisi da loro crudelissimi Padri piu fieri delle stesse fiere, una a loro piu benefichi nel torli, che nel darli la vita'; Carlo Tomasi, *La passione del Signore considerata in dodici stati*, 12 vols (Roma: Ignatio de' Lazari, 1570), XII, 182–83.

[63] Dionysius Carthusianus, *De quatuor hominis novissimis* (Venezia: Iohannes Maria

included in printed collections of saints' lives such as Franciscus Haraeus's *Vitae Sanctorum* (1590),[64] Molanus's *Natales Sanctorum Belgii* (1595),[65] Nicolas Caussin's *La cour saincte* (1624),[66] and the Jesuit Pietro de Ribadeneyra's *Flos Sanctorum* (1704, Spanish translation 1716).[67] The most critical of these collections was that of Adrien Baillet, Descartes's biographer (first published in 1701), fittingly entitled *Les vies des saints, composées sur ce qui nous est resté de plus autentique* [*sic*] *et de plus assuré dans leur histoire*. With regard to Dympna, Baillet remarks that 'quoique tout l'histoire de sainte Dympne *soit fort suspecte* [italics mine], son nom est trop célèbre dans l'Eglise, surtout aux Pays-Bas, pour ne nous pas exciter à rapporter au moins ce que les conjectures des savants y ont remarqué de plus plausible'.[68] Baillet's work may be seen as a critical response to the Bollandists' series, *Acta Sanctorum*, in which the May volume was published in 1680, including Henschenius's edition of Dympna's *Vita* and *Miracula* in volume III.[69]

The *Acta Sanctorum* was the most influential of the publications mentioned. The most detailed, in which the author appears to have included virtually everything he could find on the saint's life and cult, had appeared twenty-two years earlier: the voluminous *De triumpherende suyverheyt: Het leven, martelie, ende mirakelen van de H. Maeghdt ende martelersse Dympna dochter van den coninck van Irlandt patronersse van de wyt-vermaerde Vryheyt van Geel* ('Purity triumphant: The life, martyrdom, and miracles of the holy virgin and martyr Dympna, daughter of the King of Ireland and patron of the famous seigneury of Gheel') by the Premonstratensian canon Ioannes Ludolphus van Craywinckel. Similar publications exist for other saints of the Low Countries, such as Gertrude or

Lenus, 1574), fol. 317^{v}.

[64] Franciscus Haraeus, *Vitae Sanctorum, ex probatissimus authoribus et potissimum ex Surio, brevi compendio summa fide collectae* (Antwerpen: Plantin and Moretus, 1590), pp. 365–67.

[65] Joannes Molanus, *Natales Sanctorum Belgii et eorundem chronica recapitulatio* (Leuven: Johannes Masius and Philippus Zangrius, 1595), fols 98^{v}–100^{r}.

[66] At the time of writing, I did not have access to the original French edition of Caussin's *La cour saincte*; see Nicolas Caussin, *La corte divina o palacio celestial*, 6 vols (Barcelona: Juan Piferrer, 1718), IV, 211.

[67] Pietro de Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum cioè Vite de' santi*, 2 vols (Venezia: Nicolo Pezzana, 1704), II, 251–53; Pedro [Pietro] de Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum [...] en que se contienen las vidas de los santos*, 6 vols (Madrid: Augustin Fernandez, 1716), III, 194–98.

[68] Baillet, *Les vies des saints*, IV, 277–78.

[69] Henschenius, 'De SS. Dympna Virgine et Gereberno Sacerdote, Martiribus Gelae in Brabantia'.

Begga; they seem to be a typical phenomenon of seventeenth-century Counter-Reformation revival of hagiography and devotion to saints.

The later seventeenth century also witnessed the appearence of Dympna as a character in works of fiction and drama. A Sicilian, Josephus Guli, wrote *La Costanza di S. Dimpna* in 1691,[70] and in decades both before and after that date, several musical settings of the legend were composed, probably stimulated by its publication in collections such as the *Acta Sanctorum*. In 1683, the pasticcio *Santa Dimna* was composed by a triumvirate consisting of Alessandro Melani (Act 1), Bernardo Pasquini (Act 2), and Alessandro Scarlatti (Act 3), to a libretto of Pamphili. At the carnival of 1687 it was performed at the Roman Palazzo Pamphili. In the same year an oratorio, *Santa Dimna, figlia del re d'Irlanda*, was composed by Flavio Carlo Lanciani for James II, Duke of Mantua, to a libretto of G. A. Lorenzani. It was probably performed at the Chiesa Nuova on 16 March 1687.[71] The same libretto was set to music by Johann Joseph Fux in 1702 as the oratorio *Santa Dimpna, Infanta d'Irlanda* (K.300a).[72] Only the second part of Fux's work survives; its first modern performance took place in Gheel on 3 June 2006.[73]

[70] Josephus Guli, *La Costanza di S. Dimpna* (Messina: Vincentius de Amico, 1691); mentioned in Antonino Mongitore, *Bibliotheca Sicula sive De scriptoribus Siculis*, 2 vols (Palermo: Angelus Felicella, 1714), II, Appendix, p. 28.

[71] The autograph is Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS Mus. F.618.55–M.139, of which a facsimile edition exists: Flavio Carlo Lanciani, *Santa Dimna, figlia del re d'Irlanda: The Facsimile of Santa Dimna, figlia del re d'Irlanda, reproducing the ms. copy of the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Mus. F. 618*, ed. by Howard E. Smither, vol. VI of *The Italian Oratorio, 1650–1800: Works in a Central Baroque and Classic Tradition* (New York: Garland, 1986). See Victor Crowther, 'Lanciani's *Santa Dimna*: An Oratorio for a Duchess in Exile', in *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 — Selected Proceedings: Part One*, ed. by Patrick F. Devine and Harry White, Irish Musical Studies, 4 (Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 354–62; I thank Frank Lawrence for this reference.

[72] H. M. White, 'An Irish Saint in Eighteenth-Century Vienna: Johann Joseph Fux and the "Oratorio Volgare"', *The Maynooth Review*, 12 (1985), 51–57.

[73] Dramatized versions of the Dympna legend were also performed in Gheel until at least the late eighteenth century. The Royal Library of Brussels holds a pamphlet with the text of a play performed by the rhetoricians of the town: 'True love and purity triumphant in Christ, represented by the holy virgin and martyr Dympna, patron of the freedom of Gheel, whose life and martyrdom there will be performed as a play by the art-loving and inquiring amateurs of the rhetoricians' guild on 8, 9, 10, 11, [15, 29] June 1794'; *Waere liefde en triumpherende zuyverheyd in Christo: Afgebeeld in de H. Maegd ende Martelaerersse Dympna patroonerse der Vryheyd van Gheel Welkers leven ende martelie aldaer, doôr haere konst-minnende ende leerzuchtige lief-hebbers der Rhetorike Gilde, ten tooneel zal worden uytgevoerd op den 8, 9, 10, 11*

Unlike today, Gheel as a locality seems to have been virtually synonymous with Dympna in sixteenth-century descriptions of the town. Guicciardini, in his famous and oft-translated *Descrittione [...] di tutti i Paesi Bassi* of 1567, remarks that 'Gheele è propinqua a Herentals due leghe: è piacevol' terretta, nella quale da pochi anni in qua, hanno eretto un' Collegio di Canonici, a honor della vergine santa Dimpna, gentildonna di Scotia'[74] ('Gheel is two miles from Herentals; it is a peaceful place, where a few years ago a chapter of canons was established in honour of the virgin Saint Dympna, a noble lady of Ireland').[75] Similarly, in April 1583, Michael Eyzinger visited Gheel and reported as follows:

> Geele ligt zwo meilen von Herrenthals, ist ein kleiner aber gleichwol lustiger flecken, den ich gesehen als ich mit dem Herrn von Quierru seliger gedechtnuß deß Graven von Megen Bruedern, dardurch gezogen, zu dem Herzogen auff Cleven zu, unnd ist in Gehl vor wenig Jharen ein herrliches Thumbstifft S. Dimpna der Edlen Jungkfrawen auß Schottlandt, entstanden, werden von weit und breyte die unsinnigen und unrichtigen von haupt daher geführet, und gehalten biß dieselbigen wider zu sich selber kommen, und genesen werden.[76]
>
> [Gheel is at two miles' distance from Herentals; it is a small but nice little place, which I visited when I was on my way to the Duke of Cleve together with Lord von Quierru of blessed memory, the brother of the Count of Megen. A few years ago a noble chapter of St Dympna, the noble virgin from Scotland,[77] was founded; from far away the unreasoning and weak of mind are brought there and kept there until they come back to themselves and are healed.]

It is conceivable, and indeed probable, that the city and population of Gheel were at least to some degree aware of the European fame of its patron saint. In turn, this popularity in the later sixteenth century might have provided an additional

Junius 1794 (Leuven: Franciscus Michel, 1794).

[74] Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione [...] di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore* (Antwerpen: Guglielmo Silvio, 1567), p. 142.

[75] The term 'Scotia' normally referred to Ireland until the twelfth century after which it was replaced by the term 'Hibernia', with the former then being applied to Scotland. However, in this instance, I think it reasonable to assume that Guicciardini had Ireland in mind. Sometimes, however, the distinction became blurred in the minds of later writers and was thus reflected also in vernacular texts. This confusion persists here and there up to the present day.

[76] Michael Eyzinger, *Niederländische Beschreibung, in Hochteutsch, und historischer weiss gestelt, auff den Belgischen Löwen der Sibenzehen Provinzen deß ganzen Niderlandts, was sich darinnen zugetragen hat, vom Jhar 1559 bis auff gegenwürtiges 1584 Jar* (Köln: Heinrich Nettessen, 1587), p. 271.

[77] See above, note 75.

stimulus of local self-awareness and identification with 'their' saint. Such an identification can be seen from the popularity of the confraternity of St Dympna that was re-established at her church in Gheel on 14 November 1635; in the course of the century, the confraternity accepted four thousand members.[78]

Apart from the saint's nationality, which is consistently mentioned, Dympna's qualities as a healing saint were perhaps even more relevant to those seeking her aid. It comes as no surprise, then, that she is mentioned in publications dealing with the supernatural, the diabolical, and the angelic. For example, the Dominican Serafino Razzi mentions Dympna in the chapter 'Delle suggestioni diaboliche' in his *Giardino d'essempi overo fiori delle vite dei santi*, printed in Venice in 1599.[79] In the following year, Dympna was mentioned in a section on saints in the chapter 'De remediis supernaturalibus, divinis, seu ecclesiasticis' in the Jesuit Martin Delrio's *Disquisitiones magicae*.[80] In the same vein, the miracle story of the two wooden coffins that angels replaced with white sarcophagi was also incorporated in treatises such as those of Andrea Vittorello (1610) and Gregorio Carfora (1682) on custodian angels.[81] Van Craywinckel (1658) expands on this episode by contrasting Dympna's angels with the hoard of devils that carried out the burial of Martin Luther. Similarly, in his 'moral lessons', the Dominican Angelo Paciuchelli uses the same figure and turns it into an even sharper contrareformatory anti-Lutheran pamphlet:

> Avete veduto Lutero empio, e mancatore a Dio? Volete vedere Dio terribile con Lutero? Affissate la mente in questa istoria. Tilmanno Brandebachio [...] scrive, che furon veduti migliaia, e migliaia di Demoni in orribilissime forme andar per l'anima di quel pessimo Eresiarca. Et in confermazione di questo referisce, che essendo concorsi molti indemoniati in un luogo di Brabanza nel Tempio di Santa Dimna, per trovar quivi rimedio, ed esser curati, già che ogni giorno i demoni gli tormentavano: un giorno stettero tutti quieti, e senza alcuna modestia, come se non patissero di tal male; ma'l giorno seguente tornarono ad esser cruciati nell'istessa maniera di prima.[82]

[78] Kuyl, *Gheel*, pp. 69, 80–81, 148; Dubreucq, 'Le mariage', p. 59.

[79] Serafino Razzi, *Giardino d'essempi, overo Fiori delle vite de i santi* (Venezia: Daniel Zanetti, 1599), pp. 243–45.

[80] Martinus Delrio, *Disquisitiones magicae*, 6 vols (Mainz: Johannes Albinus, 1600), III, 465.

[81] Andrea Vittorello, *Trattato della custodia c'hanno i beati angeli de gli huomini* (Venezia: Mattia Valentini, 1610), p. 92; Gregorio Carfora, *La tutela angelica* (Napoli: Geronimo Fasulo, 1682), p. 93.

[82] Angelo Paciuchelli, *Lezioni morali sopra Giona profeta*, 3 vols, 6th edn (Venezia: Paolo Baglioni, 1686), II, 233; the story is also given by Gregorio di Valcamonica, *Curiosi trattenimenti continenti raguagli sacri, e profani de' populi comuni* (Venezia: Giuseppe Tramontin, 1687), p. 573.

> [Have you seen the impious and apostate Luther? Do you want to see God avenging Luther? Then direct your mind towards this story. Tilman Brandebachio writes that thousands and thousands of demons in horrible forms were seen on their way to the soul of this awful arch-heretic. And in confirmation of this he relates that, while many possessed people came together in a place in Brabant at the church of Saint Dympna in order to find a remedy and be healed there, already the demons tormented them daily. One day they would all remain quiet and without any modesty as if they did not suffer such a malady. The next day, however, they returned to being tormented as before.]

A similar 'use' of Dympna as the patron saint of the mentally ill occurred at the end of the Ancien Régime in Brabant of the 1790s where this patronage is perverted to an identification with whatever political or religious party was considered 'insane'.[83] An example of the parodistic tone is the concluding 'prayer' of the *Almanach de Geel pour l'année bissextile 1792 contenant le tableau de l'invocation perpétuelle de Sainte Dymphne*, by Jérôme Le Bonsens:

> Priere ou collecte dont on fera usage pendant cette Neuvaine
>
> Dieu juste et miséricordieux qui, pour chatier votre peuple, lui envoyez des prêtres & des moines, qui, en annonçant une doctrine contraire à celle de votre saint évangile, parviennent à lui inspirer l'esprit de mensonge et de manie; accordez nous, par l'intercession de la bien-heureuse Dymphne, vierge et martyre, qu'étant délivrés de cette cruelle maladie, nous puissions par votre grace nous préserver desdits séducteurs, et nous conformer aux maximes de la morale évangelique. Par notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, qui vit et règne avec vous dans l'unité du saint Esprit. Dieu dans tous les siècles des siècles. Amen.[84]
>
> [Prayer or collect to be used during this Novena
>
> Righteous and gracious God, who, to chastise your people, has sent them priests and monks, who, by proclaiming a doctrine contrary to that of your holy Gospel, succeeds in inspiring in this people the spirit of lies and mania. Grant us, by the intercession of blessed Dympna, virgin and martyr, that being delivered of this

[83] *Voyage de Sainte Dymphne, à Bruxelles, ou histoire véritable de la conversion de nos Seigneurs les Etats de Brabant* (Breda: Imprimerie du défunt Comité insurgent, 1791); *Suite du voyage de Sainte Dymphne à Bruxelles, histoire véritable de la conversion des doyens, & de plusieurs patriotes fanatiques* (Breda: Imprimerie du défunt Comité insurgent, 1791).

[84] Jérôme Le Bonsens, *Almanach de Geel pour l'année bissextile 1792 contenant le tableau de l'invocation perpétuelle de Sainte Dymphne; l'instruction patriotique de Jérôme le Bonsens, avec la description sommaire des cérémonies qu'on observera à Geel pendant la célèbre neuvaine de ladite Sainte, depuis le 15 jusqu'au 23 mai de cette année* (Gheel, 1792), p. 48.

> cruel malady we may by your grace, protect ourselves of the said seducers, and conform us to the maxims of the Gospel. By our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit. God forever and ever. Amen.]

An extensive analysis of the narratives and their constituent components in all manuscript and printed sources can not be undertaken here. The overview given above, however, shows that, even if only a few historical facts about Dympna's life and death are known, the *vita* and local cult provided were sufficient to disseminate her name and legend throughout Europe. The extent to which narrative details are used depends on the purpose of the text in which they were used, and on the author's intentions of simply conveying the principal elements or presenting a dramatic story. The dramatic potential of Dympna's martyrdom is exploited most explicitly in the musical settings (opera, oratorio) and the romanticized versions of the legend.[85] The martyrdom obscured the element of virginity which seems to play a role of importance only in liturgy. Similarly, the localities of Gheel and Antwerp are of modest importance and serve only as the setting where the events of Dympna's life take place. On the other hand, the originally local cult of Dympna as a healing saint is reflected in several treatises and medical studies, is perverted in satirical texts, and even finds echoes today, both in Gheel and as far as New York.[86] In all manifestations of the life and legend of Dympna, as well as in the chants, her origin as an Irish saint, martyred by her own father, remains the only constant. Dympna's epithet as an explicitly Irish saint clearly suggests that she was perceived as one of those saints whose 'orthodoxy' and authority emerged from a long and saintly Irish tradition, that of the Irish *Peregrini* and saints who once christianized Western Europe, some by teaching and preaching, others by living their exemplary and sometimes dramatic lives.

[85] See, for example, Lamont, 'Dympna: An Irish legend'; also Felix Bogaerts, *Dympne d'Irlande: légende du septième siècle* (Antwerpen: De Corte, 1840).

[86] See for example the modern performance of Fux's oratorio and the five-yearly Dympna procession in Gheel. On 5 October 2008, the New York quartet Gang Gang Dance released its fourth album, entitled *Saint Dymphna* (P-Vine Records (PCD–22316)/Warp Records (WARPCD171)/The Social Registry (TSR050)).

Appendix 1

Textual corrections to two Dympna Office chants

Vespers I, Antiphon 1	
Sacro felix germine	
Letetur Hybernia	
Cuius floret sanguine	
Jubilans Antverpia	< *corr:* Gela>
Alleluia	

Matins, Responsory 1	
Ortus in Hybernia	
Floret in Antverpia	< *corr:* Gela >
Puritatis flosculus	
Cuius vigil oculus	
Alleluia	
V. In honore conditam	
Avis huius semitam	
Ignoravit regulus	
Cuius.	

Appendix 2

Transcriptions of liturgical texts: lessons and prayers

Antiphons

1.

De sancta Dympna virginis et martyris an[tiphona][87]
Beata que metuit [metu] filiali
Christum dum preposuit regno temporali
Nec consensus mali
Regis voto paruit
Ideo nunc affluit
Gloria spiritali
Alleluia
v. Ora pro nobis beata Dympna

2.

Antiphonae de sancta Dympna[88]
O castitatis lilium
Virgo decus regium
Sponsa Christi Dympna
Celebrantes tua solemnia
Post hujus mundi spatia
Supernis junge civibus
Alleluia

[87] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS II 278, Prayer book, Latin and Dutch, fifteenth century, fol. 87r; in the proper Dympna Office of Gheel, this is the Magnificat antiphon.

[88] Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, p. 376, notes that these antiphons are found in a manuscript from the Benedictine abbey of Gembloux: 'Nota. Dese naervolgende gebeden in 't Latijn van S. Dympna etnde S. Gerebernus zyn gevonden in eenen ouden geschreven boek van de oude vermaerde abdye van Gemblours in Wals–Brabant, van S. Benedictus Ordre, waer uyt blykt, dat den Feest-dag van S. Dympna ende den H. Gerebernus daer van ouds plegen geviert te worden'; it is also published in *AH*, xxviii, no. 64, p. 291, from another source (Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, MS 28, a collection of rhymed suffrages dating to the 15th/16th century).

Antiphona

Ave virgo speciosa
Ave martyr gloriosa
O Dympna egregia
Patri carnis odiosa
Christi regi gratiosa
Fidei constantia
Tua prece gloriosa
Nos a morte aerumnosa
Vera duc ad gaudia
v. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua, etc.

Lessons

Die XV. Maii: in festo S. Dympnae Virg. & Mart. dupl.[89]

Lectiones 1. Nocturni de Scriptura occurr.

In 2. Nocturno

Lectio 4

Dympna virgo in Hybernia patre rege nata, idolorum cultibus dedito, velut rosa de spinis germinavit; quae in domo patris nobiliter educata, cum annos pueritiae transegisset, chorearum assultus et ioculatorias cantilenas, et quae illa aetas expetit, et poscit celsitudo regalis, generosa mente despiciens, occulte baptismum suscepit, et se corde et corpore Christo devovit perpetuo servituram. Ejus autem profectibus invidens veterator diabolus, quo sanctam virginem ad idolatriam reduceret, regem patrem amore incestuoso ergo illam et impudicitiae facibus inflammavit.

[89] This set of three lessons was published in the *Officia propria dioecesis Sylvae-Ducensis redacta ad formam Breviarii Romani Clementis VIII et Urbani VIII*, 3rd ed. ('s-Hertogenbosch: J. Scheffers, 1764). The responsories are taken from the *Commune Sanctorum*. A manuscript copy — without indications of how the text is divided in three lessons and without responsory texts — can be found on fols 5^{v}–6^{r} of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 17054–57, the *Mémoire sur les drossarts du Brabant* (eighteenth century). On fols 1^{r}–2^{v} it contains a letter dated Gheel, le 20 avril 1790, signed by 'votre tres humble & tres obeïssant serviteur J. M. Barth, chan[oine]'; on fols 3^{r}–4^{v}, 'Anecdotes a la vie de Ste Dympne'; on fols 5^{v}–6^{r}, a 'Series vitae Divae Dympnae. Trium lectionum'.

R. Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et justitiam: Et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. V. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende, prospere procede, et regna. Et deducet.

Lectio 5

Cum enim regina conjuge mortua, quae eximiae erat corporis pulchritudine, consortem throni similis venustatis perquiri jussisset nefaria aulicorum suggestione, filia suam Dympnam decoram valde et matri simillimam contra ipsa naturae jura sibi voluit matrimonio copulare. Hinc molliter blandienti et omnem mundi gloriam promittenti, animosa Christi virgo respondit, se illud nunquam facturam, cum abominabile prorsus esset quod filia macularet thorum patris. Tandem cum a patre et precibus et minis instante quadraginta dierum inducias petiisset; ut patris libidinem effugeret, adjunctis sibi Gereberno et jaculatore patris sui cum ejus uxore, ut pauperem Christum virgo spiritu pauper sequeretur, relicta patria, navem conscendit, et ventis prosperantibus ad quoddam castrum quod Antverpia dicitur, appulit.

R. Dilexisti justitiam, et odisti iniquitatem: Propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus oleo laetitiae. V. Propter veritatem, en mansuetudinem, et justitiam. Propterea.

Lectio 6

Cum autem Antverpiae haereret, et strepitus saeculares mens ferre Christo devota nequiret, per nemorosa devia ad pagum Ghele pervenit: ubi juxta locum Sammele domicilio sibi congruo extructo, divinae contemplationi vacans, per tres menses angelicam vitam duxit. Innotuit interim patri ejus, qui et ipse Antverpiam appulerat, filiam illic commorari: quam tandem inventam, cum majoribus promissis et blanditiis, sed et minis aggressus est, nec vellet fidem Christo datam violare: cum jam ante Gerebernus obtruncatus esset, nimio furore incensus, jussit celeriter decollari: quod cum nullus qui in regis esset collegio, tam crudele praeceptum exequi auderet, ipsemet crudelis pater gladio quo fuerat accinctus, sacrum caput praeclarae virginis, divinam implorantis misericordiam amputavit. Hoc pacto gloriosa Chrsiti sponsa, daemonum terror et flagellum, virginitatis et martyrii laurea decorata ad caelos evolavit.

R. Afferentur regi virgines post eam, proximae ejus. Afferentur tibi in laetitia et exultatione. V. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende, prospere procede, et regna. Afferentur tibi. Gloria Patri. Afferentur tibi.

In 3. Nocturno. Lectiones de homilia in evangelio *Simile est regnum caelorum* decem virginibus, ut in communi.

Prayers

1. Collecta[90]

Amator pudicitie et custos Deus supplicantibus nobis tribue, ut qui beate Dympne virginis et martiris tue cuius annue solempnitatis memoriam recensemus:[91] eius apud te meritis et intercessionibus adiuvemur. Per Dominum nostrum.

2. Complenda[92]

De sancta Dympna
Hec nos quaesumus Domine sacrosancti suscepcio purificat sacramente et in nobis sancti Dympne virginis et martiris tue intretur tuaque merito passionis captivitatis et voto tibi g..ta placuit mundicie cordis simul et corporis efficaciam operetur. Per.

3. Oratio[93]

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui infirma mundi eligis, ut fortia quaeque confundas, concede propitius: ut qui beatae Dympnae virginis et martyris solemnia colimus, ejus apud te patrocinia sentiamus. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

4. Oratio de sancta Dympna[94]

Alma Deus Dympna pro nobis iugiter ora
Filia Christicola regis de lege prophana
Virgo decora nimi contempnens ydola patris
Hec Christo nubit patris sponsalia spernit
Hybernorum rex nate caput amputat ex lex

[90] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 1610–28, fols 424v–25r; MS 3782, fol. 212r; MS II 278, fol. 87r; Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., pp. 25–26 (corrected page numbers; the current pagination in pencil has erroneously inverted page numbers 25 and 26); Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, p. 76.

[91] *Vita* and Van Craywinckel have 'martyris tue memoriam colimus: eius [...]'

[92] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 3782 (Liège Missal), fol. 212r.

[93] *Officia propria dioecesis Sylvae-Ducensis redacta ad formam Breviarii Romani Clementis VIII et Urbani VIII*, 3rd edn ('s-Hertogenbosch: J. Scheffers, 1764), pp. 19–20 (consulted copy: Brussels, Bollandist Library, Lib. lit. B79/20).

[94] Brussels, BR, MS 1610–28, fols 424v–25r; Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., pp. 25–26 (corrected page numbers; the current pagination in pencil has erroneously inverted pp. 25 and 26).

O felix patria quam sacrat sanguinem Dympna
Cantica psalle pia Dympne Ghele villa beata
Terribiles hostes prosternit regia proles
Unica tota salus qua gaudet turba Ghelensis
Carmina casta tibi martir reminisce nostri
V. Ora pro nobis virgo martir et patrona Dympna[95]

5. [Oratio][96]

Hec martir Dympna stat hic de vire patrona
Que Ghele per palmam sacravit sanguinem terram

6. Oratio de tempore Decollationis Dympne[97]

Florido quondam tempore
Rosarum et lilorum
Dympna in villa de Ghele[98]
Regis proles Hybernorum
Sacro florebat sanguine
Nunc victrix demoniorum
Virgo martir nos defende
Ab incursu predictorum
Ne nos mergant sed duc tute
Ad regna leta polorum
In quibus regum filiae
Collaudent regem gloriae[99]

7. *[Oratio]*[100]

Ora pro nobis, virgo martyr et patrona sancta Dympna
Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi

[95] Brussels, BR, MS 1610–28 has 'Ora pro nobis sacra virgo et martyr Dympna / Ut digni efficiamur permissionibus Christi'.

[96] Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., pp. 25–26 (corrected page nos).

[97] Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., p. 31; Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, p. 94 ('Ex antiquis registris Gelens[ium]').

[98] Van Craywinckel gives 'Dympna formosa in Gele'.

[99] Two last lines only in Van Craywinckel.

[100] Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., p. 31; Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, p. 94 ('Ex antiquis registris Gelens[ium]').

8. [*Oratio*][101]

Concede nos, quaesumus omnipotens Deus, beatae Dympnae virginis et martyris tuae meritis et intercessione laetari, ut per illa ma maligni demonis insultibus liberemur, quam pro fide et virginitatis defensione quindennem parentis manibus decollatam angelorum ministerio tumulari voluisti. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Amen.

Prayers in honour of Gerebernus

1. Antiphona de sancto Gereberno presbytero et martyre[102]

Egregius Christi martyr et victor Gerebernus coronatus corona martyrii, laetabundus ad regnum hodie miravit, Christi secutus vestigia. Quam beatus, quam gloriosus introivit ad regni coelestis epulas. Eja ergo totus mundus petat tanti patris suffragia, alleluia.
V. Gloria et honore, etc.

2. Collecta[103]

Deus, qui praedicatione beati Gereberni presbyteri et martyris tui sanctam Dympnam, populique multitudinem ad fidem tuam convertisti, praesta quaesumus, ut ejus precibus, temporalibus non destituamur auxiliis, et spiritualibus proficiamus incrementis.
Per Christum, etc.

3. Oratio de sancto Gereberno[104]

O nimium delecte Deo martir Gereberne
Dympne baptista te laudat contio nostra
V. Gloria et honore coronasti eum Domine. Et const.

4. Collecta [de sancto Gereberno]

Da nobis quesumus omnipotens Deus ut intercedente beato Gereberno sacerdote et martyre tuo a cunctis adversitatibus liberemur in corpore et a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

[101] Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, p. 94.

[102] Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, pp. 77–78.

[103] Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, pp. 77–78.

[104] Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, *Vita*, s.s., pp. 25–26 (corrected page number; the current pagination in pencil has erroneously inverted page numbers 25 and 26); Van Craywinckel, *De triumpherende suyverheyt*, p. 69 ('die van Geel singhen van hem in eenen ouden lof-sanck aldus').

Appendix 3

List of Manuscript Sources

Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes

MS 467/1d, *Vitae* in Dutch (fifteenth century)
fols 127[r]–133[v]: *Vita Dympnae* in Dutch

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er

MS 1610–28, Richard of St Victor, *Super Apocalypsim* (fifteenth century), Carthusians of 's-Hertogenbosch
fols 424[v]–425[r]: Oratio de sancta Dympna martyre

MS 3782, Liège Missal (fifteenth century)
fol. 212[r]: *collecta-secreta-complenda* in honour of Dympna;
fol. 217[v]: Mass formulary in honour of Dympna

MS 8587–89, *Vitae* in Dutch (sixteenth century)
fols 299[r]–323[v]: *Dat leeghende van die heilighe maghet sinte Dimpna* (Legend of the holy virgin Dympna)

MS 9786–90, Munsterbilzen Missal (fifteenth century)
fol. 91[v]: Sequence Dympna (*In hac die*)

MS 17054–57, *Mémoire sur les drossarts du Brabant* (eighteenth century)
fols 1[r]–2[v]: letter of J. M. Barth to an unknown addressee, 20 April 1790;
fols 3[r]–4[v] *Anecdotes de la vie de Ste Dympne*;
fols 5[v]–6[r] *Series vitae Divae Dympnae. Trium lectionum*

MS 21875, *Vitae* in Dutch (fifteenth century)
fols 108[r]–135[r]: *Dat leven ende passie van die heylighe maghet ende mertelaresse sinte Dimpna* (Life and passion of the holy virgin and martyr saint Dympna)

MS II 278, Prayer book in Latin and Dutch (fifteenth century), from the former collection of Edmond de Coussemaker
fol. 15[r]: Dympna mentioned in litany of all saints; fol. 87[r] [commemoration:] antiphon and collect

MS II 2328, *Vitae* (fifteenth century), Premonstratensians of Berne
fols 121^{v}–35^{r}: 'Incipit hystoria sancte dymne virginis et martyris'

MS II 2628, *Vitae* in Dutch (1573), Amsterdam, ''t clooster van de hem buyten Schoonhoven'
fols 1^{r}–7^{v}: 'Hier beghi*n*t die legende va*n* die hei[*li*]ghe maghet sinte Digna'

Gheel, Dympna- en Gasthuismuseum, s.s.

Antiphoner (sixteenth century), Gheel, Church of St Dympna
No Dympna texts or chants

Dympna Office (sixteenth century)
First decorated folio, kept in a frame

Gradual (1538), Gheel, Church of St Dympna
Between fols 114–15 and 227–28: two bifolios from the proper Office of Dympna; fol. 169^{r}, marginal additions with Mass formularies for Dympna feasts of 15 and 30 May; fol. 308$^{r–v}$: Sequence *Hac in die* (added seventeenth century, incomplete)

Vita Dympnae (first half of the fifteenth century), Gheel, Church of St Dympna
Currently held in loose folios; fols 25–26, 30–31: prayers to Dympna and Gerebernus; sequence *Laudes Dympne*

Vita Dympnae abbreviata (first half of the fifteenth century), Gheel, Church of St Dympna
fol. 2^{r}: Prayer to Dympna

Offices of the Saints

Insular Sources: Ireland

From Hymn to *Historia*: Liturgical Veneration of Local Saints in the Medieval Irish Church

Ann Buckley*

From the evidence of kalendars, martyrologies, collects, litanies, and sung prayers such as hymns, the liturgical culting of local saints existed from an early date in the Irish Church. Jane Stevenson has indicated that by 650 × 700 the liturgical books of each monastic centre would have included hymns in honour of local patrons.[1] However, there is no indication that anything other than individual hymns, collects, and occasional antiphons were composed in honour of local saints in pre-Norman Ireland. There are, for example, no equivalents to the prose *historiae* of Carolingian Francia, and it seems unlikely that full proper saints' offices came into existence before the twelfth century at least.

There was a notable rise in interest in local cults in the late seventh century, following the devastating plague of 664. This may reflect a desire to preserve information by making a written record of their Lives in the event of another catastrophe and is probably also due to an increase in devotion at a time of need. Adomnán, Colum Cille's biographer, refers to the saying of Mass on Iona in the latter's lifetime to honour the feasts of particular saints, including those

* I offer my sincere thanks to Charles Doherty and to Barbara Haggh-Huglo for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this chapter.

[1] Jane Stevenson, 'Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers', in *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), pp. 75–107 (p. 78).

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Music, Liturgy, and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context, ed. by Ann Buckley, RITUS 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) pp. 161–183
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.RITUS-EB.5.111069

of Sts Brendan, Columbanus, and Bishop Colmán (of Lindisfarne).[2] In the *Liber angeli* from Muirchú's *Life of Patrick* in the Book of Armagh (*c*. 807), all of the Irish churches are enjoined to celebrate Patrick's feast day, and the person who on the day of death sings the hymn composed for Patrick will be absolved from their sins: 'ut quicumque ymnum qui de te compossitus est in die exitus de corpore cantauerit, tu iudicabis poenitentiam eius de suis peccatis'.[3]

In the notes supplementary to the Life (*Itinerarium*) of Patrick (also in the Book of Armagh) by the seventh-century Bishop Tírechán, contemporary of Muirchú's, the author (probably also Tírechán) gives a list of the four honours due to the saint from all the monasteries and churches throughout Ireland, as follows:

> sollempnitate dormitationis eius honorari in medio ueris per tres dies et tres noctes omni bono cibo praeter carnem, quasi Patricius uenisset in uita in hostium;
>
> offertorium eius proprium in eodem die immolari;
>
> ymnum eius per totum tempus cantare;
>
> canticum eius scotticum semper canere.
>
> [1. on the feast of his death to be honoured (even) in the midst of Spring [i.e. Lent] for three days and three nights with every good food except meat, as if Patrick in person had come to the door;
>
> 2. his Mass to be celebrated on that same day;
>
> 3. to sing his hymn throughout that whole time;
>
> 4. always to sing his Irish song.]

Ymnum eius presumably refers to *Audite omnes amantes*, and his hymn or song in Irish is perhaps a reference to the Lorica/Breastplate, *Atomriug indiu*.[4]

[2] *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. by A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961), III, 11. Cf. Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London: The Sources of History Ltd. in association with Hodder and Stoughton, 1972), pp. 206–07.

[3] The Book of Armagh, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 52 (9th c.), fol. 16ra; <http://www.confessio.ie/manuscripts#>. See also *ILH*, I, pp. xxvi–vii; James Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929; repr. Dublin: Pádraig Ó Táilliúir, 1979), 259; *ILH*, II, 97 and n. 3; *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, ed. by Whitley Stokes, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London: H.M.S.O., 1887), II, 333; *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. by Ludwig Bieler with a contribution by Fergus Kelly, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 10 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1979; repr. 2004), pp. 116–19.

[4] *The Patrician Texts*, ed. by Bieler, pp. 166–67.

As in Gallican practice, great importance was attached to the singing of hymns in the Irish Office.[5] In addition to the Apostles, the church fathers, the martyrs, and certain other saints such as St Martin of Tours (to whom there was great devotion in Ireland, as in Gaul), there is early evidence for invocations to local saints in, for example, the Stowe Missal,[6] and the Rule of Tallaght.[7] In the latter, the invocations 'Sancte Patricii ora pro nobis' and 'Sancte Brigida ora pro nobis', respectively, were repeated between every two psalms on their feast days.

Hymns are found in concentration in two of the most important surviving sources, the Antiphonary of Bangor[8] (late seventh century) and the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (*c*. 1100).[9] Both contain material for Irish as well as 'universal' saints (e.g. Martin, Hilary of Poitiers, the Virgin Mary). Furthermore, what are generally agreed as examples (or outlines) of Irish offices in the Book of Mulling and the Basel Psalter show early evidence of a liturgical context for hymns.[10]

The Book of Mulling (from the monastery of St Moling or St Mullins, Co. Carlow) is a gospel book of the second half of the eighth century to which what appear to be rubrics for a service were added on the verso of the final folio, probably in the ninth century.[11] The following list is derived from H. J. Lawlor who succeeded in identifying all but one item:

[5] The Irish Office has been the subject of recent studies by Michael Curran and Petter Jeffery. See Michael Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984), and Peter Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements in Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 99–143.

[6] *The Stowe Missal: MS.D.II.3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, ed. by George F. Warner, 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society, 31 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1906–15; repr. 1989 in one vol.), II, 14.

[7] For a recent discussion, see Kathryn Alyssa Izzo, 'The Old Irish Hymns of the Liber Hymnorum: A Study of Vernacular Hymnody in Medieval Ireland' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2007), p. 61.

[8] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C.5 inf. See *AB*.

[9] This collection is found in two sources, one is Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1441 (<http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.phpfolder_id=1655&pidtopage=MS1441_01&entry_point=1>); the other, now OFM-UCD MS A2, forms part of the Franciscan Collection in the Archives of University College Dublin; <http://www.isos.dias.ie>. See *ILH* passim.

[10] Previous discussion of these sources may be found in *ILH*, I, pp. xxi–xxxvi.

[11] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 60, fol. 94^{v}; <http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home#folder_

The Magnificat

1. [Illegible]
2. Stanzas 4, 5, and 6 of *Noli Pater* (a hymn attritubuted to St Columba)
3. A reading from the Gospel of St Matthew
4. The last three stanzas[12] of *Audite omnes* (the hymn to St Patrick)
5. Collect *In memoria*
6. Collect *Patricius episcopus*
7. The last three stanzas of *Celebra Iuda* (the Hymn of Cummian Fota (d. *c*. 661) in praise of the Apostles)
8. Collect *Exaudi*
9. The last three strophes of *Ymnum dicat* (hymn of Hilary of Poitiers)
10. Collect *Unitas in Trinitate*
11. The Apostles' Creed
12. The Pater Noster
13. Collect *Ascendat oratio*

All of the above hymns, 3, 5, 8, 10, are found in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*,[13] while items 5 and 10 occur also in the Antiphonary of Bangor.[14] One of the collects

id=1648&pidtopage=MS60_032&entry_point=1>. See H. J. Lawlor, *Notes on Some Non-Biblical Matter in the Book of Mulling* (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1895); repr. from *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1894–95*, pp. 11–45 (pp. 11–36); and H. J. Lawlor, *Chapters on the Book of Mulling* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1897), pp. 146–50. See *ILH*, I, pp. xxii–xxiii, for a summary of Lawlor's report; and most recently, Próinséas Ní Chatháin, 'Some Early Irish Hymn Material', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. by Gerald Bonner (London: SPCK, 1976), pp. 229–38 (pp. 230–31).

[12] The singing of the last three stanzas appears to have been a common way of abbreviating a hymn in the early Irish Church while still receiving from its 'grace' or spiritual benefit. See comments by Jane Stevenson in F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881); 2nd edn with a new introd. and bibliography by Jane Stevenson, Studies in Celtic History, 9 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. lxxxviii–ix.

[13] See *ILH*, I, items 16, 1, 3, 7, respectively.

[14] *AB*, items 13 and 2, respectively.

for *Audite omnes* (6) is found in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* copy of the hymn,[15] the other (7) in the Antiphonary of Bangor.[16] The collects *Exaudi* (9) and *Unitas in Trinitate* (11) occur in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, appended, respectively to *Celebra Iuda* and *Hymnum dicat*[17] (but not in the *AB* copy of the latter).

Concerning item 3, *Noli Pater*, as Lawlor noted, it appears that stanzas 4–6[18] of this seven-stanza hymn are indicated rather than the last three. Lawlor's reasoning is that to exclude stanza 4 would have meant beginning in the middle of a sentence, as follows:

> [4] Benedictus in saecula recta regens regimina
> Johannes coram Dominum adhuc matris in utero
>
> [5] Repletus Dei gratia pro uino atque siccera
>
> [6] Elizabeth et Zacharias uirum magnum genuit
> Iohannem baptizam precursorem domini
>
> [7] Manet in meo corde dei amoris flamma
> ut in argenti uase auri ponitur gemma.

However, there is another possible interpretation. That which Lawlor (and also Bernard and Atkinson in their edition of *ILH*) consider to be the final stanza ([7] above) could in fact be another instance of what Dreves and Blume refer to as the ubiquitous *collecta post hymnum*.[19] They have all the signs of a concluding prayer and, as indeed Lawlor himself stated, are 'apparently altogether unconnected with what immediately precedes it'.[20] The only difference here is that the last two lines are in the same script as the rest of the hymn whereas collects attached to other Latin hymns in this codex are written in a smaller script to distinguish them from the hymn text (a topic to which I shall return below).

[15] *ILH*, I, 13.

[16] *AB*, I, fol. 15^{v}; see *AB*, II, 16. There is a slightly different version of this in the OFM-UCD copy of the *ILH*; but it is not included in the Trinity College manuscript. See *ILH*, I, 13. See Lawlor, *Chapters on the Book of Mulling*, pp. 146–50.

[17] *ILH*, I, 21, l. 41, and *ILH*, I, 42, respectively.

[18] 'Benedictus udq; ioh[annem baptis]ta[m] p[re]cursore d[omi]ni'. See Lawlor, *Notes*, p. 14, and Lawlor, *Chapters on the Book of Mulling*, p. 146.

[19] *AH*, LI, 318.

[20] Lawlor, *Notes*, p. 26; Lawlor, *Chapters on the Book of Mulling*, p. 156.

The Basel Psalter[21] (eighth century) is a Continental manuscript written in Irish script which contains the Greek psalter along with ninth-century additions in Latin, including the following which also appears to represent an outline of an Office:[22]

1. *Cantemus in omni die* (Cú Chuimne's hymn to the Virgin)
2. Collect *Singularis meriti* (for the Virgin)
3. *Alta audite τα ερζα* (a hymn to St Brigit)
4. Collect *Quae consedit* (for St Brigit)
5. *Xpistus in nostra insola*
   (incipit of third last strophe of a hymn to St Brigit)
6. *Sancta virgo virginum Maria, intercede pro nobis* (a prayer to the Virgin)
7. Epistle *Incipit epistola Salvatoris domini [...] ad abgarum*
8. Collect *Deus meus pater* (for St John)

Items 1, 5, 7 and 8 are found in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*,[23] but item 3, *Alta audite*, and its related collect are unique to this source.[24] It is an abecedarian hymn[25] (along with *Audite omnes* and *Xpistus in nostra insola*), and contains two

[21] Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS A.VII.3; see <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/ubb/A-VII-0003>. The Latin text is on fols 1^{v}–3^{r}, 12^{v}, 98^{r}–99^{r}. See *Psalterium Graeco-Latinum Codex Basiliensis A 7 3*, ed. by Ludwig Bieler, Umbrae Codicum Occidentalium, 5 (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1960), pp. xv–xvi.

[22] *ILH*, I, pp. xxvi–vii; Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I, no. 364(iv), pp. 557–58; no. 571, pp. 713–14; cf. also no. 95(ii), pp. 267–68, and no. 98, pp. 269–70.

[23] *ILH*, I, 33–34, 14, 94, and 91, respectively.

[24] *AH*, LI, no. 241, pp. 319–20. The following lines are written at the conclusion of the hymn: 'quae consedit in cathedra / cum matre Maria', then the words 'item Christus in nostra insola / quae voc[atur Hibernia]'. Mone did not correctly identify that these are two separate items and ran them together to produce a single text which he treated as the final stanza of the hymn, as follows: 'quae consedit in cathedra / cum matre Maria / item Christus in nostra insola / quae vocatur beatissima'. See F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 3 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1853), III, 241. Clearly the text following 'item' refers to the next hymn, and the first group of words evidently represent a prose collect. The editors of *AH* correctly identified the former, but not the collect.

[25] A practice modelled on the Hebrew Psalms and Lamentations, and found commonly in Irish and North British sources.

references to Patrick (stanzas 3 and 9), making it possibly the earliest source to bring both of these saints into association.[26]

The Antiphonary of Bangor contains antiphons for the Divine Office and the Communion of the Mass, along with hymns, canticles, and rhythmical collects, making it a hymnary and collectar as well as an antiphonary. Among the hymns are the earliest known copies of the *Gloria* and *Te Deum* (which enjoyed special devotion in the early Irish Church),[27] reflecting the influence of the Gallican liturgy. It also preserves the earliest known copy of the Communion hymn *Sancti venite*. A number of the Hiberno-Latin items are most likely to be Irish compositions and, in addition to the Patrick hymn, include four others with a local flavour: one each for Comgall and Camelac, one in praise of Bangor itself, and another in honour of the abbots of Bangor:

13. Hymnum Sancti Patricii magistri Scotorum: *Audite omnes amantes* (*AH*, LI, 340–42)
14. Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri: *Recordemur iustitie/Audite pantes* (*AH*, LI, 321–24)
15. Hymnus Sancti Camelaci: *Audite bonum exemplum* (*AH*, LI, 321)
95. Versiculi Familiae Benchuir: *Benchuir bona regula* (*AH*, LI, 356–57)
125. In memoriam abbatum nostrum: *Sancta sanctorum opera* (*AH*, LI, 357–58).

All are unique to this source apart from *Audite omnes*. The first three (13, 14 and 15) are abecedarian; 14 and 95 have refrains; 13 has a rhymed collect and 125 a prose collect.

Audite omnes represents the earliest evidence for the cult of St Patrick. It occurs in several sources, the earliest of which is the Antiphonary of Bangor,[28] and also the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*. In both of these it concludes with a series of rhymed collects, which points to liturgical use.

[26] See Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, p. 268, n. 348.

[27] See Michel Huglo in this volume.

[28] Milan MS C.5 inf., fol. 15^{v}. This hymn has sometimes been attributed to Secundinus (d. 457) but is thought more likely to be a composition of Colmán Elo (d. 612), educated in Armagh, who may have been responsible for spreading the cult of Patrick to the Irish midlands and beyond.

Recordemur iustitiae,[29] a hymn for St Comgall, is unique to this manuscript. However, a fragment has been found inscribed on a slate on the Scottish island of Inchmarnock in the Firth of Clyde, just to the west of Bute. The three words, '*Adeptus sanctum premium*', have been identified as coming from stanza 7, line 3. They are written twice, one line underneath the other, with different orthographic errors each time: clearly a student at practice, and a most valuable example of the use of hymn texts for teaching Latin and writing.[30] Although Comgall (d. *c*. 602) was founder and first abbot of the monastery of Bangor, one of the most prominent of the Irish centres of education in the early Middle Ages, this is all that survives of his liturgy. The Vikings repeatedly sacked Bangor, and with the disappearance of the community and its holdings, almost nothing remains of its daily prayer: this manuscript is its single known surviving remnant. The relatively late Aberdeen Breviary (sixteenth century) contains three lections for Comgall,[31] while a collect and lections 4, 5, and 6 are found in a later publication by Thomas De Burgo from an unidentified source.[32]

St Camelac was one of St Patrick's bishops and founder of a monastery perhaps at Abbeylara, Co. Longford. Little is known of his liturgical veneration (though he is listed in the Martyrology of Gorman).[33] It is possible that the hymn was included here to accompany the Patrick hymn. Michael Curran, following Carney,[34] has noted its metrical similarity to *Audite omnes* (and also that it is alphabetical), suggesting that it may have been composed by the same author.

Few of the hymns in *AB* are provided with a liturgical context.[35] Those concerning the abbots of Bangor and praise of the abbey itself may or may not have

[29] This hymn is also known as *Recordemur iustititae* from its opening stanza — used variously as refrains throughout. See *AB*, 1, 16.

[30] Chris Lowe, *Inchmarnock: An Early Historic Island Monastery and its Archaeological Landscape*, SAS monograph (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2008), pp. 136–38.

[31] *Legends of the Scottish Saints: Readings, Hymns and Prayers for the Commemorations of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*, ed. by Alan Macquarrie with Rachel Butter and contributions by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 344–45.

[32] Thoma De Burgo, *Officia propria sanctorum Hiberniæ: ab omnibus utriusque sexûs, qui ad horas canonicas tenentur, tàm in memorato regno, quàm in conventibus, & collegiis extranationalibus, sub ritu duplici majori recitanda in vim duplicis decreti sacræ rituum congregationis* (Dublin: sumptibus Ignatii Kelly, 1751), pp. 50–54.

[33] Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), pp. 157–58.

[34] James Carney, *The Problem of St Patrick* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961), pp. 43–44; see Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, p. 209, n. 40 for other references.

[35] These include a hymn for the blessing of the candles, and one for the priests' Commun-

formed part of a liturgical service. Perhaps they were used on special feast days, or in extra-liturgical communal devotion. However, neither of them has a collect while *Audite omnes* (*Patricius aepiscopus*, fol. 16[r]) and *Recordemur iustitiae* (fol. 17[v]) do.

The Irish *Liber Hymnorum* is a rare instance of an Irish glossed hymnal. Because of the presence of glosses, doubts have sometimes been expressed about its identity as a liturgical book.[36] However, more recent work by Susan Boynton on glossed hymnals,[37] and by Katherine Izzo on this source in particular,[38] show it to be consistent with similar collections elsewhere, in serving both as material for study and for use in the liturgy.

It survives in two separate manuscripts which undoubtedly derive from a common ancestor and share much, but not all, of their material.[39] One is now MS 1441 in Trinity College Dublin (T), the other is held in the Franciscan collection in the archives of University College Dublin (F). Between them they contain forty-eight hymns of which fourteen are in Hiberno-Latin and ten in Irish. T omits nos 41–46 (found in F); F omits 24–40 (found in T). Both contain hymns to Irish and international saints and are witness to some of the oldest vernacular hymns for Sts Patrick, Brigit, and Colum Cille.

The Latin hymns are as follows:

1. *Audite omnes* (hymn to St Patrick, attributed to ps. Secundinus, but Colmán Elo is believed to be the more likely author) (*AH*, LI, 340)
2. *Xpistus in nostra insula* (hymn to St Brigit, attributed to St Ultán) (*AH*, LI, 317)

27. *Alto et ineffabili* (hymn to St Ciarán, attributed to (ps.) Colum Cille) (*AH*, LI, 325)
28. *Abbas probatus* (hymn to St Molaisse) (*AH*, LI, 327)[40]

ion. See Huglo in this volume.

[36] William O'Sullivan excepted. See William O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the Trinity Liber Hymnorum', in *Roger Powell: The Compleat Binder*, Bibliographia, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 130–35 (p. 130).

[37] Susan Boynton, 'Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries Containing Glosses', *Scriptorium*, 53 (1999), 200–51; Susan Boynton, 'Latin Glosses on the Office Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 11 (2011), 1–26.

[38] Izzo, 'The Old Irish Hymns', pp. 50–52.

[39] See note 9, above; and *ILH*, I, pp. xiii–xiv.

[40] Cf. *AH*, XIX, 222, where the hymn is also included owing to an error on the part of the

31. *Ecce fulget clarissima* (hymn to St Patrick) (*AH*, xix, 233 / li, 346)

32. *Phoebe diem fert orbita* (hymn to St Brigit) (*AH*, xix, 98 / li, 320)

There are six hymns in Middle Irish of which two are for Brigit and two for Patrick, along with three loricae (protective prayers) including the still current 'Deer's Cry', more usually referred to today as 'St Patrick's Breastplate', as follows:

19. *Génair Pátraic* (attribted to Fiacc)

20. *Admuinemmair nóeb-Pátraicc* (attributed to Ninian)

21. *Brigit bé bithmaith* (attributed to Colum Cille or Ultán)

22. *Ní cair Brigit* (attributed to Broccan)

24. *Atomriug indiu* (lorica of St Patrick)

Items 19 and 22 are biographical hymns; 20 and 21 are invocations, perhaps used on the respective feast day. Collects are provided for 21, 22, and 24; a copy of 21 exists also in the Book of Lismore (fifteenth century), and in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 61, a sixteenth-century collection of verse connected with St Colum Cille. Significantly, the Book of Lismore recension (which Stokes believed to have been taken from Irish *Liber Hymnorum*) follows a copy of the *Life of St Brigit*.[41]

Grouped together (with the exception of one lorica), no specific liturgical context is given for these items — or indeed for most of the hymns. In spite of not including such information, however, there are telltale signs that at least some of them were used liturgically, such as the presence of Latin collects at the end (including in the case of the vernacular hymns).[42] For our purposes here, the Trinity College copy is of particular relevance since it has a substantial additional section from slightly later in the century with a number of items which can be linked to later sources of Lives and Office texts. Among the Hiberno-

editors. Here they associated it with Nad Fraích, who is referred to in the text. He was in fact Molaisse's father.

[41] See *The Book of Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, otherwise known as the Book of Lismore*, with introduction and indices by R. A. S. Macalister (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1950), fol. 59d; and Whitley Stokes, *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), p. 332; and further discussion in Izzo, 'The Old Irish Hymns', pp. 62–64.

[42] And in the case of the *ILH*, this is not the only such indication of liturgical use (as Huglo has pointed out in this volume with reference to the 'R' which is derived from an earlier 'Versus' type.).

Latin hymns in that collection *Ecce fulget clarissima*, for St Patrick (fol. 31[r]), is found with its melody in later copies of his Office;[43] a hymn for St Ciarán of Clonmacnois, *Alto et ineffabili* (fol. 32[r]), occurs in a fourteenth-/fifteenth-century collection containing his Life. Another, for St Molaisse of Devenish, *Abbas probatus omnino* (fol. 32[v]),[44] while unique to this source, has been linked to evidence elsewhere for his liturgical cult, namely, a Communion antiphon added in a margin in the Martyrology of Donegal next to the listing of his feast day (12 December).[45]

Some vernacular hymns, from their language, may date to as early as the ninth century; and the fact that the Latin hymns are found in earlier sources such as the Book of Mulling is also of great significance. Although it exceeds the remit of the present discussion, the question of the use of the vernacular in the Irish liturgy is of particular relevance because of its prominence in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, and the presence of rhymed Latin collects at the conclusion of the Irish hymns.

It has sometimes been thought that the use of vernacular texts indicated involvement of the laity and/or *illiterati* (i.e. those who could not read Latin), but played no part in the liturgy proper.[46] And while it is certain that the former is true in many cases, as for example, penitential texts, there are clear indications in some Irish sources that the vernacular was also used in the liturgy itself. For example, the above-mentioned reference to 'canticum [...] scotticum' in relation to Patrick in the Book of Armagh. Furthermore, the Second Vision of Adomnán contains a description of an Office of intercession against pestilence which combines Latin hymns with a vernacular prayer in Irish: 'Don-fair trocaire, a Dé, 7 rón-be flaith nime, 7 doringbai Dia dind cech plag 7 cech dunibad!' ('May mercy come to us, O God, and may we have the king-

[43] See Senan Furlong in this volume. It occurs also in a fragment of a hymnary in the Vienna Schottenstift Fragm. liturg. 98[r], again without notation.

[44] See *ILH*, 1, 160, 157, 158, respectively. Also Ann Buckley, 'Between Hagiography and Liturgy: Fragmentary Offices for Irish Saints', in *A Carnival of Learning: Essays to Honour George Cunningham and his 50 Conferences on Medieval Ireland in the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St Joseph, Roscrea, 1987–2012*, ed. by Peter Harbison and Valerie Hall (Roscrea: Cistercian Press, 2012), pp. 41–52, for a recent survey and references.

[45] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 5095–96. See Charles Doherty, 'The Earliest Cult of Molaisse', in *History of the Diocese of Clogher*, ed. by Henry A. Jefferies (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), pp. 13–24 (p. 19, n. 53).

[46] *Pace*, most recently, Jeffery, who states that 'for the illiterate' were prescribed such things as 'certain songs in Celtic'; see Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements', p. 105.

dom of heaven, and may God avert from us every plague and mortality').[47] Furthermore, several of the vernacular hymns are modelled on Latin metre, suggesting a close affinity between the two jurisdictions.[48] And in addition to being sung at the Office, hymns were used for protection of body and soul, in penitentials, and to accompany the reading aloud of saints' lives[49] (a topic to which we shall return below).

Though the context for the hymns in honour of Irish saints is lacking in quite a few cases, as we have seen, they are rounded off with a proper collect, which suggests that a liturgical occasion was involved; and this is what makes them relevant for our purposes here. We cannot be certain of their classification, and where more than one 'additional' stanza occurs, it is equally not clear whether they would all have been sung (spoken) at the end of the hymn, or whether they represent alternatives, as, for example, the three at the end of *Audite omnes* in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, but they are not the same as those which occur in the Franciscan copy of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* or in the Antiphonary of Bangor. However, two are included following this hymn in the Book of Mulling, not apparently as alternatives but in a manner which appears intentional.[50]

In the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, the collects are usually distinguished by being written in a different script — narrower and more 'pointy' (as observed by *ILH* and William O'Sullivan), or as prose in the case of two of the hymns;[51] the

[47] This prayer was to accompany three prostrations while striking the breast three times following the singing of *Hymnum dicat* and *In Trinitate spes mea*, with each of these hymns being sung to the clapping of hands. See Nicole Volmering, 'The Second Vision of Adomnán', in *The End and Beyond: Medieval Irish Eschatalogy*, ed. by John Carey, Emma Nic Cárthaigh, and Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh, 2 vols, Celtic Studies Publications, 17 (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Press, 2014), II, 647–81 (§11, 664–65, 680).

[48] Indeed Izzo, 'Old Irish Hymns', p. 36, has raised the interesting question whether the development of vernacular hymns based on Latin metre may have been the initial point of contact for the subsequent development of syllabic vernacular verse.

[49] Izzo, 'Old Irish Hymns', pp. 26–31.

[50] For references to 'Patricius episcopus' and 'Unitas usque' in the Book of Mulling, see Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements', p. 101. Recognizing the absence of contextual information, Jeffery refers to them as extra stanzas which (in *AB*) he compares to the practice of appending antiphons and collects to some of the psalms; O'Sullivan, 'Notes', describes them variously as antiphons and collects (p. 130), as do Bernard and Atkinson, e.g. *ILH*, I, 25 — a point which would repay further research.

[51] William O'Sullivan observes that the Latin hymns are written in a formal Irish majuscule in the style of the last phase of that script, comparable to the twelfth-century Cistercian psalter known as 'Cormac's Psalter' (London, British Library, Add. MS 36929); whereas the

same script is used for Irish-language hymns, and there the additional material in Latin is consistent. In other words, the rounder, more formal style is used exclusively for the main texts of the hymns in Latin. Rather than an indication of 'liturgical priority', William O'Sullivan was of the opinion that the difference in style was more likely due to scribal fashion and compares this feature to a similar use of majuscule for Gallican and miniscule for Hebraicum texts in a fragmentary Double Psalter of the same age also housed in Trinity College Dublin.[52] And while this feature does not occur in F, it nonetheless affords insight into the way the scribes (and the students/singers) thought about the material: hymn 'proper' and 'other'.

The Irish *Liber Hymnorum* is situated on a fulcrum spanning the pre- and post-Norman Irish Church, looking back towards an earlier period but also with later additions. This position is shared with the early twelfth-century Drummond,[53] Corpus (or Clones),[54] and Rosslyn[55] missals, which also contain proper prayers for a handful of local saints. They include Mass items (collect, secret, post-communion) for Brigit and for Patrick in the Corpus and Rosslyn missals;[56] Brigit is mentioned in the Canon of Drummond, while Patrick, Columba, and Coémgen (St Kevin — along with Sts Martin and Nicholas) are included in the collect, with Patrick and Coémgen (again, along with Martin and Nicholas) in the post-communion of a commemorative Mass.[57]

Latin antiphons and the Irish hymns are in a late mannered style of minuscule that ceased to develop as a result of the Anglo-Norman invasion and was revived in the fourteenth century. See O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the Trinity Liber Hymnorum', p. 130.

[52] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1337 [H.3.18]; the fragment is from the tenth century. See Ludwig Bieler and Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Fragments of an Irish Double Psalter in the Library of Trinity College Dublin', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 28–39.

[53] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 627. For an earlier account, see Sara G. Casey, 'The Drummond Missal: A Preliminary Investigation into its Historical, Liturgical, and Musicological Significance in Pre-Norman Ireland' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1995).

[54] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 282. See *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, ed. by F. E. Warren (London: Pickering, 1879).

[55] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.5.19. See *The Rosslyn Missal: An Irish Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, ed. by Hugh Jackson Lawlor, Henry Bradshaw Society, 15 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899).

[56] Corpus Missal, fols 130^{r}, 135^{r}; Rosslyn, fols 80^{r}, 87^{v}. See Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual*, pp. 269–71.

[57] Drummond, fols 104^{v}–106^{v}; see *Missale Drummondiense, the Ancient Missal in the*

The slightly older Martyrology of Christ Church contains Gospel readings for Fursa (on pp. 217–18) and Brigit (p. 236) alone among Irish saints.[58] The feast of St Fursa (16 January) is listed in the kalendar with an Office of nine lessons. The surviving manuscript dates to the thirteenth century, but the oldest layer of the text dates to *c.* 1000. The martyrology was brought to Dublin from Cologne at the time of the foundation of Christ Church Cathedral (then known as the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity), Dublin, and its contents also reveal the influence of Metz — both important centres of Irish Benedictine activity.[59] Fursa's liturgical cult is attested in Irish and Continental kalendars of the eighth and ninth centuries; thus it may be that this particular form of his veneration came from the Continent, as did his first Life. And notably he and Brigit also appear together in an eleventh-century source from western France, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1384.[60]

The Irish Church underwent a fundamental organizational change following the introduction of Continental orders such as the Benedictines and the Augustinian (Arroasian) canons in the first half of the twelfth century, and the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1169. These reforms included the establishment of a diocesan system throughout the island of Ireland, the taking-over or replacement of the older ecclesiastical settlements, and the appointment of bishops to the new sees.[61] In terms of liturgical observance and the realignment of cultural and political affiliation, this also involved the selective adoption of the cults of local saints to reflect the new dispensation, a process which included the production of new collections of Lives in which the Augustinians appear to have played a prominent role.

Marie Therese Flanagan has suggested that in the eleventh century a school of homileticists centred at Armagh was engaged in the recasting of older hagi-

Possession of the Baroness of Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire, ed. by G. H. Forbes (Burntisland, 1882), pp. 88–89.

[58] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 576. These two saints are associated also in a Breton martyrology, see Jean-Michel Picard in this volume.

[59] See Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Calendar and Martyrology of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin', in *The Medieval Manuscripts of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, ed. by Raymond Gillespie and Raymond Refaussé (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 33–59 (pp. 38, 44–54). There were Irish abbots in Metz (St Symphorien) and Cologne (Groß Sankt Martin and St Pantaleon) at this time, *c.* 1000.

[60] See Picard, this volume.

[61] See Marie Therese Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010).

ographical material in homiletic form (the *Tripartite Life of St Patrick* being one such instance).[62] It is likely that these activities would also have stimulated the composition of hymns and other proper material which in the case of more important saints (or causes) would have resulted in a full Office.

The first signs of new developments may be seen in the revision of the kalendar of saints by Augustinian canons in the form of three new martyrologies compiled over the decade 1167–77, including the metrical Martyrology of Gorman at Knock Abbey, Co. Louth (*c.* 1169 × 1170) in the vernacular, and the Drummond Martyrology (before 1175) in Latin prose, compiled perhaps at Armagh. Both contain listings of Irish and non-Irish saints, while the third, the Martyrology of Christ Church Dublin, contained mainly foreign saints with some local additions. The same period saw the preparation of a substantial commentary on the Martyrology of Óengus (*Félire Óengusso*, 1170s) and four other Latin prose martyrologies, all of which now survive outside of Ireland (Cashel, Drummond, Turin, York).[63]

The collections of Latin Lives are all from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although individual items are believed to be derived from considerably older sources. They represent a revival of interest in native saints on the part of the Hiberno-Norman Church, as do the many newly commissioned *historiae*. This is apparent both in terms of which saints are concerned (reflecting political, diocesan interests of the new authorities), and the fact that the Lives appear to be general compilations rather than reflecting specifically local or regional interests.[64]

Between the early hymn collections, on the one hand, and composite liturgical service books such as breviaries and antiphonals, on the other, there is a third category of sources which has attracted little scholarly attention.[65] These are collections of abreviated saints' lives adapted as readings for use in liturgical services. Usually concluding with a prayer, some them are accompanied by a separate liturgical item such as a collect, a hymn, or an antiphon.

[62] Flanagan, *The Transformation*, p. 16.

[63] Flanagan, *The Transformation*, p. 19 and n. 94, p. 149: Pádraig Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 86 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 2006), pp. 173–203.

[64] On these compilations, see Ailbhe Mac Shamhráin, 'Uí Máil and Glendalough', in *Glendalough: City of God*, ed. by Charles Doherty, Linda Doran, and Mary Kelly (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), pp. 183–210 (pp. 187–89).

[65] But see Buckley, 'Between Hagiography and Liturgy'.

Richard Sharpe has referred to two of the three main surviving collections, the *Codex Insulensis* and the *Codex Salmanticensis*, as 'lectionary Lives' and states that 'no great gulf seems to separate the liturgical and hagiographic interest'.[66] Indeed some texts are found in the same form in the Lives and in liturgical books, suggesting that they were drafted to meet both needs at once; some Lives include texts such as hymns, antiphons, and collects which further underline their liturgical function.

The principal surviving Irish collections of saints' Lives in Latin are as follows: the compilation known as the *Codex Kilkenniensis*,[67] perhaps from Kilkenny, and from south Leinster,[68] both fifteenth century and with Franciscan associations; the *Codex Insulensis*[69] from Augustinian houses in Lough Ree and Abbeyderg, Co. Longford, respectively, copied between 1375 and 1425, with a transcript of the latter made in 1627 by John Goolde, Guardian of the Franciscan Friary in Cashel;[70] and the *Codex Salmanticensis*[71] — conveniently renamed by Richard Sharpe as MSS **D** (the 'Dublin' collections), **O** (the 'Oxford' collections), and **S** (the Salamanca collection), which I follow here.

MS **O** contains a collect (*Oratio*) at the conclusion of the *Life of St Berach of Kilbarry*; a *metrum* and a Matins hymn for Ciarán of Clonmacnois; a *metrum*, a hymn for Vespers, and another for Matins for Féichín of Fore; a hymn for Matins and another for Lauds for Tigernach of Clogher.

The *metrum* for Ciarán was identified as a set of antiphons by Blume and Dreves.[72] However, in the sources they are presented as a single continuous *metrum*. As in the case of the antiphons for St Ciarán, the *metrum* for Féichín

[66] Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 376–78.

[67] Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.1.5.

[68] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 175.

[69] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawl. B. 485 and B. 505. See Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, passim.

[70] Killiney, Franciscan House of Studies, MS F.1 [*olim* A.23].

[71] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 7672–74, originally from Donegal, but which found its way to Brussels via Salamanca (and Louvain?). For further discussion of dating and provenance, see William O'Sullivan, 'A Waterford Origin for the *Codex Salmanticensis*', *Decies: Journal of the Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society*, 54 (1998), 17–24 (pp. 17–18), and also Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Codex Salmanticensis: A Provenance *inter Anglos* or *inter Hibernos?*', in *'A Miracle of Learning': Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. by Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, and Katharine Simms (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 91–100 (pp. 91, 96–97), who suggests a Clogher provenance.

[72] *AH*, LI, 326–27 (no. 245b).

probably represents sung items from the Office. It consists of twenty-seven lines which fall semantically into nine groups of three, thus easily interpreted as three for each of the three nocturns of Matins. However, both R^1 and R^2 include numbers in the margin at lines 4, 7, 13, 16, and 19 which appear to refer to chapters from the Life.[73] Although the text of the *metrum* (which includes accounts of several of Féichín's miracles) is not derived from incidents recounted in the version of the Life provided in these sources, these markings may have been intended as guides for interpolated readings. If that is the case, then the *metrum* would more likely represent a set (or part thereof) of responsories to be sung following the respective lection, grouped in lines of 3, 3, 6, 3, 3, and 9.

The two hymns for Tigernach also occur in a version of his Life and Office in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 405, a miscellaneous collection from Waterford which includes a fragment of a breviary containing (in addition to Tigernach) offices for Sts Brigit, Patrick, and Bairre Méitíne, dating to the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[74]

MS **S** includes a Magnificat antiphon for St Carthage (Mochutu). And in the case of the *Life of Molua* (Lugidus) there is an account of the singing of an antiphon, *Sancte Pater, O Lugidi*, by an angelic choir which could heard by Pope Gregory in Rome on the day of the saint's death. Such a reference may be compared to that of another antiphon, *Ibunt sancti*, sung also by a choir of angels in a Vision from the *Life of St Fursa*,[75] and referred to in the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*.[76] This is an identifiable chant of the Columbanian (and Gallican) Church, one which is also mentioned in Jonas's *Life of St Columbanus* as having been sung on his deathbed by Theodoaldus, a monk of

[73] I thank Richard Sharpe for kindly consulting the two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library on my behalf. The microfilm copies available in the National Library of Ireland are insufficiently clear to read the finer detail.

[74] The hymns are on pp. 167–68 and 184–85. See also Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1985), p. 145 (no. 570). They are one page short in their annotations of the conclusion of the Offices of Patrick, Tigernach, and Barrmedinus.

[75] See Ann Buckley, *'Nobilitate vigens Furseus': The Medieval Office of St Fursey* (Norwich: Fursey Pilgrims, 2014).

[76] See *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis from Early Latin Manuscripts*, ed. and trans. by Carl Selmer, Publications in Medieval Studies, 16 (Notre Dame: University of Indiana Press, 1959; repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1989), p. 50; see also Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, pp. 170–71.

the Bobbio community.[77] And so it seems reasonable to assume that the antiphon associated with Molua is also genuine.

The Martyrology of Donegal contains a Communion antiphon for St Molaisse. But whether this and the hymn in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (discussed above) belonged to a single 'lost office' cannot be proven. The hymn is an abecedarian Hiberno-Latin hymn (which according to Doherty may date to the seventh century).[78] There is no evidence that this earlier style of hymn was used in late medieval offices. While it cannot be ruled out that the Communion antiphon may also have belonged to an earlier period, the likelihood is that it formed part of the observances at the time of the later compilation. However, the question remains open.

No full offices for Irish — or any other — saints survive in Irish manuscripts from earlier than the thirteenth century. The saints chosen for these offices are indicative of the political and cultural changes introduced during the reforms of the twelfth century. The Normans were keen to consolidate their position by promoting certain local cults and demoting others. For example, Sts Patrick, Brigit, and Colum Cille were particularly favoured by John De Courcy who essentially combined their cults on the grounds of the putative discovery of their bodies by Bishop Malachy at Down Cathedral and was responsible for arranging their reburial together in 1185.[79]

In spite of the listing of copious Irish saints in kalendars and litanies in some of the surviving liturgical manuscripts and fragments from medieval Ireland, proper texts with music notation exist for only three, Sts Patrick, Brigit, and Canice. The Antiphonary of Armagh[80] includes three notated antiphons for St Patrick; the Clondalkin Breviary[81] has full offices for Patrick, Brigit, and Canice, and the Kilmoone Breviary[82] for Patrick and Brigit. The Dublin Troper[83]

[77] For further details, see Ann Buckley, 'Music in Ireland to *c.* 1500', in *A New History of Ireland*, I: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 744–813 (pp. 794–95). A fuller discussion and analysis of this antiphon is found in Michel Huglo's essay in the present volume, at note 36.

[78] Doherty, 'The Earliest Cult of Molaisse', pp. 21–23.

[79] John De Courcy is also responsible for commissioning a *Life of Patrick* from the Cistercian monk, Jocelin of Furness, the text of which has clearly been used in the Office, and probably also for the Office of the Translation. See Furlong in this volume.

[80] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 77, mid-fifteenth century.

[81] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 78, mid-/late fifteenth century.

[82] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 80, early fifteenth cetury.

[83] Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 710, *c.* 1360.

includes two sequences for St Patrick. Two processionals, dating to *c.* 1400 and used at the Church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin, contain versions of the processional hymn *Salve festa dies* for both Sts Patrick and Colum Cille.[84] They are central to any study of the post-twelfth-century Irish liturgy, but apart from a single exception, *Ecce fulget*, found also in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* and in the Schottenstift fragment in Vienna), they contain no copies of earlier material, registering a complete change of direction from what preceded them.

While the cults of some saints continued in the post-Norman era, none of the liturgical material appears to have been used in the *historiae* or other prayers in their honour. Any later references to earlier material are confined to saints' Lives (e.g., the Book of Lismore), further underlining the almost complete break with the pre-Norman Irish Church, a situation reflected across the spectrum of civic and ecclesiastical culture. And while the presence of a hymn or other fragment of proper text does not necessarily mean that more material did not once exist, it is clear from the sources presented here that *historiae* were exclusively a product of the new diocesan régime. It will be some time before we can fully appraise these materials in their wider insular and European contexts.

[84] Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.4.2.20, *c.* 1400; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. liturg. d. 4, *c.* 1400. Full details on these and the above sources may be found in Buckley, 'Music in Ireland', pp. 782–98, 809–13, and relevant articles in Harry White and Barra Boydell, eds, *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 2 vols (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013). See also Senan Furlong and Patrick Brannon in the present volume.

Appendix

Proper Liturgical Material in Irish Saints' Lives

Berachus / Berachius *(15 February)* — ***BHL*** **1168**

Berach, abbot, Termonbarry, Co. Roscommon (d. 595)
Collect: *Deus, qui beatum Berachum abbatem in terris fecisti magnis coruscare miraculis* (MS **O**)[85]

Cartachus / Mochutus *(14 or 15 May)* — ***BHL*** **1623**

Mochutu / Mochuda / Carthach, abbot, Lismore and Rahan (d. 637)
MS **S**:[86] A rhymed metrical Magnificat antiphon:
Gloriose presul Christi / uenerande Carthace

Ciaranus / Kiaranus / Keranus / Queranus *(9 September)* — ***BHL*** **4654**

Ciarán, abbot, Clonmacnois (*c*. 512–45)
MS **O**:[87] nine Matins antiphons:[88]

Matre Querani sedente
Magus inquit
Vitulum vaccae lactentem
Mulieris regiae caput decalvatum
Cum Queranus studiis sacris teneretur
Textus evangelicus
Cum puer oraret
Defunctusque puer
Lapsus de caelis

[85] *AASS*, Feb. II, 833–38; 3rd edn, pp. 834–88. Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. B 485, fol. 62^{v}; Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. B 505, fol. 194va (where it is spelt *'Oracio'*); F, p. 285; *Vitae SS*, I, 86; cf. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, pp. 402–03 (no. 196).

[86] *AASS*, Mai. III, 375–78. **S**, fol. 194$^{va–b}$; see W. W. Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae: Ex codice salmanticensi nunc bruxellensi*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 28 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), p. 340; also *Vitae SS*, I, 199, n. 1, quoting from **S**. Cf. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, p. 452 (no. 234).

[87] This version is not in *AASS*. See Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. B 485, fol. 94$^{ra–b}$; Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. B 505, fol. 130$^{rb–va}$; F, pp. 110–11. In F the first antiphon has a different text and there is slight textual variation elsewhere.

[88] The individual items were identified as antiphons in *AH*, LI, 326–27 (no. 245b). However, in the sources they are presented as a single continuous *metrum*.

and a hymn: *Alto et ineffabili*.[89]

This hymn occurs also in the Trinity College Dublin copy of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* together with a concluding collect in the same metre but with a different rhyme scheme:[90]

Fechinus *(20 January)* — ***BHL*** **2845**

Féichín,[91] abbot, Fore (d. 665)
MS **O**:[92] A short poem (*metrum*) about the saint's miracles, followed by a hymn for Vespers, *A puero Christi Fechinus*
and a hymn for Lauds, *Regem regum collaudemus / et laudandum predicemus* (Chevalier 17112)[93]

[89] See *AH*, XIX, 172–73 (no. 300) and LI, 325–26 (no. 245a), for two different editions of the hymn. *Vitae SS*, I, 215–16 and n. 2, omits the liturgical texts (to which he refers collectively as a 'hymn') while acknowledging their inclusion in **O**. In their place he supplies a concluding chapter which he took from the Book of Lismore. See also Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, pp. 378–80 (no. 166), *Vita* 2. In the *Life of Ciarán* a hymn very similar in wording to the last two lines is put in the mouth of St Columba who is said to have composed it. See John Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae, seu Divorum Patricii Columbae et Brigidae, trium Veteris et Majoris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae, Sanctorum Insulae, communium Patronorum Acta, Tomus Secundus Sacrarum ejusdem Insulae Antiquitatum* (Louvain: apud Cornelium Coenestenium, 1647; repr. Dublin: Edmund Burke, 1997), 471b–72a.

[90] TCD, MS 1441, fol. 28^{r} (late eleventh/early twelfth century). It is not set apart in the manuscript, unlike the collect for St Molaisse (see note 94, below). The first *AH* edition (1895) incorporates these lines within the hymn as the concluding two strophes but the later edition (1908) identifies it as a collect (note 19, above), evidently influenced by Bernard and Atkinson's publication in the meantime. See *ILH*, I, 157, and II, 219.

[91] Also known in Scotland as St Vigean.

[92] *AASS*, Jan. II, 330–32. Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. B 485, fols 113vb–114rb; Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. B 505, fol. 180$^{ra–b}$; F.1, p. 227; Cf. *Vitae SS*, II, 84–86; Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, pp. 458–59 (no. 244).

[93] See Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum: Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'Église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 6 vols (Louvain: various publishers, 1892–1920), II (1987), 422; cf. Chevalier 17111, Martin of Tours, which has a similar incipit.

Molassius / Lasreanus *(12 September)* — ***BHL*** **4725**

Molaisse / Laisrén, abbot, Devenish (d. 639)
Irish *Liber Hymnorum*

Hymn (abecedarian):
Abbas probatus omnino (Chevalier 22304)[94]

Or[atio]:
Per meritum Macculasri summi sacerdotis
Communion antiphon (Martyrology of Donegal, seventeenth century)[95]
Uir Dei dum uerbum vitae populo praedicaret

Molua / Lugidus *(4 August)* — ***BHL*** **5058**

Molua / Lugaid, abbot, Clonfert (d. 660)
MS **S**[96]

Antiphon sung by angelic choirs and heard by Pope Gregory in Rome on the day of Molua's death:
Sancte pater, o Lugidi, tua non tacebo merita

[94] TCD, MS 1441, fol. 28^{v}; see *AH*, XIX, 222 (no. 392), LI, 327–28 (no. 246). In the first of these publications, the hymn is incorrectly associated with Nad Fraích (*De sancto Nad-Fraich*). Nad Fraích (referred to in strophe 4), was Molaisse's father, and the hymn describes him as 'the holy son of Nadfraech' (Doherty, 'The Earliest Cult of Molaisse', p. 20). The error is acknowledged in the later volume. Furthermore, unlike the case of Ciarán (note 90, above), neither edition includes a reference to the collect, presumably because *AH* is devoted exclusively to rhymed material. See also Ní Chatháin, 'Some Early Irish Hymn Material', p. 231; Doherty, 'The Earliest Cult of Molaisse', pp. 19–20. See Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, III (1897), 3, where the hymn is mistakenly attributed also to 'S. Nad-Fraich'.

[95] Brussels, BR, MS 5095–96. See *ILH*, II, 221; Doherty, 'The Earliest Cult of Molaisse', p. 19, n. 53.

[96] **S**, fol. 99va; Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 145. *Vitae SS*, II, 225, provides a shorter text from **D** (Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.1.5) where 'antiphona' is replaced by 'carmina'. Another version of Molua's Life in **S** contains a variant of this text where the heavenly choirs are described as 'cantantes et dicentes' (fol. 208vb). See also Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, pp. 398–99 (no. 191).

Tigernachus *(4 April)* — ***BHL* 8287**

St Tigernach, bishop, Clogher (d. 549)
MS **O**[97]

Hymns for Vespers:
Adest dies celebris / sancti Tigernaci (Chevalier 345)

Hymn for Matins:
Tigernach igne gratia / amans superna querere (Chevalier, 20478)[98]

[97] *AASS*, Apr. 1, 402–04. Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. B 485, fol. 118$^{va–b}$; Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. B 505, fol. 97$^{rb–va}$; F, p. 27. Cf. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, pp. 386–87 (no. 179); *Vitae SS*, II, 268–69. There is a missing folio in **S** between the conclusion of Tigernach and the beginning of Columba (between current fols 87 and 88); hence it is not possible to establish whether the hymns were originally included in that source. See Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 111.

[98] See Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, I (1892), 21, and II, 669.

The Medieval Office of St Patrick

Senan Furlong OSB

Notwithstanding the significance of St Patrick as the 'apostle of Ireland', the medieval Office composed in his honour has received surprisingly little critical attention. Despite the numerous publications relating to the saint that have appeared, extant liturgical material from his later cult has been largely ignored by the scholarly community. The first published edition of the Office of St Patrick dates to 1620, when Thomas Messingham (d. *c*. 1638), a secular priest of Old English stock and rector of the Irish College in Paris, published his *Officia Ss Patricii, Columbae, Brigidae et aliorum quorundam Hiberniae Sanctorum*.[1] The Office included in this volume was modified to accord with the 1568 reforms of the Roman Breviary promulgated following the Council of Trent. The Franciscan hagiologist John Colgan (d. *c*. 1657) reproduced Messingham's edition of the Office in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, published in Louvain in 1647.[2] Items from the Office composed in rhymed verse, mostly hymns, were included in the multi-volume *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, edited by Blume and Dreves and published in Leipzig between 1886 and 1922.[3] The doyen of Patrician stud-

[1] Thomas Messingham, *Officia SS. Patricii, Columbae, Brigidae et aliorum quorundam Hiberniae Sanctorum* (Paris: Hieronymus Blageart, 1620), pp. 1–21.

[2] John Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae, seu Divorum Patricci Columbae et Brigidae, trium Veteris et Majoris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae, Sanctorum Insulae, communium Patronorum Acta, Tomus Secundus Sacrarum ejusdem Insulae Antiquitatum* (Louvain: apud Cornelium Coenestenium, 1647; repr. Dublin: Edmund Burke, 1997), pp. 189–96.

[3] *AH*. Items from the Office of St Patrick are found in vol. XI (nos 391 and 392), vol. XIX (no. 415), and vol. LI (no. 253).

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ies, Ludwig Bieler, also edited the hymns of the Office when he published some liturgical material for St Patrick shortly before his death in 1981.[4]

This chapter summarizes some of the findings of recent research by the present writer on the medieval Office of St Patrick.[5] Confining its observations to the textual elements of the Office,[6] it will first offer a brief overview of the most significant stages in the early development of the saint's cult. This will be followed by a presentation of the surviving manuscript versions of the medieval Patrician Office. Attention will then be devoted to the significance of the late eleventh-/early twelfth-century hymn *Ecce fulget clarissima* (see Appendix), which provided the anonymous author of the Office with many of the stock phrases employed in the antiphons and responsories. In tracing the development of the Office particular emphasis will be laid on the revisions of the Office of First Vespers. These revisions, it will be argued, should be interpreted in light of the liturgical reforms enacted by Alexander de Bicknor (d. 1349), Archbishop of Dublin, and published in the episcopal constitutions that he promulgated *c*. 1320. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the sources employed in the choice of lections for the Office of Matins.

St Patrick: History and Hagiography

The Patrick of history and the Patrick of hagiography are totally different entities.[7] All we know of the historical Patrick is what is revealed in the two fifth-century Latin documents which he himself wrote: the *Confessio* (his defence to

[4] Ludwig Bieler, 'Liturgische Patrickshymnen', in *Lateinische Dichtungen des x. und xi. Jahrhunderts: Festgabe für Walter Bulst zum 80 Geburtstag*, ed. by Walter Berschin (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1981), pp. 49–59.

[5] See Senan Furlong, '*Officium S. Patricii*: The Medieval Office of St Patrick', 2 vols (unpublished master's thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2008).

[6] For a consideration of the musical elements, see Furlong, '*Officium S. Patricii*', I, 122–52. The Office of St Patrick displays musical characteristics typical of late medieval saints' offices such as modal ordering of the chants, structured phrasing, and use of the Gallican cadence. There are musical borrowings and adaptation of chants from other offices such as those of St Nicholas and St Thomas of Canterbury. The hymn melodies are all drawn from the Gregorian repertory.

[7] Fundamental to all considerations of the Patrick of history and the Patrick of hagiography is the seminal article by Daniel Anthony Binchy, 'Patrick and his Biographers, Ancient and Modern', *Studia Hibernica*, 2 (1962), 7–173. See also Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Saint Patrick', in *Armagh: History and Society*, ed. by Art J. Hughes and William Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2001), pp. 43–62.

elders of the Church in Britain of his ministry to the *Scotti* or native Irish)[8] and the *Epistola ad Coroticum* (an indignant letter of protest addressed to a British petty king, Coroticus, over outrages committed by his soldiers against Irish Christians).[9] While these documents contain valuable autobiographical details, the traditional image of the saint, as found in the texts of the Office, was largely the creation of seventh-century and later hagiographers. Particularly influential in this regard were the *Collectanea* of Bishop Tírechán (fl. *c*. 690), the *Vita Patricii* by Muirchú moccu Macthéni (d. *c*. 697), and the ninth-century *Bethu Phátraic* or *Tripartite Life of Patrick*.[10] These sources recast the image of St Patrick in conventional hagiographic terms, fashioning him into the heroic figure, thaumaturge, and national patron that would dominate the cult for centuries. This refashioning influenced the later Latin Lives, most notably the so-called *Vita secunda*, *Vita tertia*, and *Vita quarta*.[11] The *Vita tertia* in turn was the main source for the *Vita S. Patricii Episcopi* of the Cistercian monk and hagiographer Jocelin of Furness (fl. 1199–1214).[12] This Life, commissioned by

[8] Available online at <http://www.confessio.ie>.

[9] The standard Latin edition is that of Ludwig Bieler, *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi*, 2 vols (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1952; repr. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1993).

[10] For an edition and translation of the *Collectanea* of Tírechán, see *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. by Ludwig Bieler with a contribution by Fergus Kelly, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 10 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1979; repr. 2004). The most recent edition, translation, and study of Muirchú is by David Howlett, *Muirchú Moccu Macthéni's Vita Sancti Patricii, Life of Saint Patrick* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006). The most recent edition of the Tripartite Life is by Kathleen Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1939). Mulchrone never published the projected second volume which was to contain an English translation. However, an earlier edition with English translation is found in *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, ed. by Whitley Stokes, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London: H.M.S.O., 1887). An online version of this text is available at <http://www.archive.org/details/tripartitepatrick00stokuoft>.

[11] See *Four Latin Lives of St Patrick*, ed. by Ludwig Bieler, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 8 (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1971). For a translation of the *Vita secunda* and *Vita quarta*, see Francis J. Byrne and Pádraig Francis, 'Two Lives of St Patrick: Vita Secunda and Vita Quarta', *JRSAI*, 124 (1994), 5–117.

[12] Jocelin's *Life of Patrick* was first printed in Antwerp in 1514. The text of this edition was reproduced in Messingham's *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, and also in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* under the title *Vita sexta*. See Thomas Messingham, *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum* (Paris: Hieronymus Blageart, 1624), pp. 1–85; Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae*, pp. 64–108. A new edition of the Life prepared by Ludwig Bieler and revised by Richard Sharpe which was due to be published in the early 1990s is now unlikely to appear (Prof. Richard Sharpe, personal communication, 22 March 2007).

the Anglo-Norman conqueror of Ulster, John de Courcy (d. 1219), became the standard medieval *Vita* of the saint.[13]

Background to the Office

The Anglo-Norman incursion into Ireland in 1169 initiated a process of colonization and appropriation that influenced the liturgy and the cults of local saints. The conquerors frequently adopted the local saint, sometimes translating the relics to a newly built church. In many cases a new Life or *Vita* was produced and a proper Office was composed to celebrate the saint's feast.

In 1185 the bodies of Sts Patrick, Columba, and Brigit were 'miraculously' and conveniently discovered in Down Cathedral by Bishop Malachy (Malachias III; d. 1204),[14] and their remains translated and enshrined under the auspices of John de Courcy who realized their value in enhancing his settlement at Down (subsequently Downpatrick) as a centre of pilgrimage and commerce. This event gave rise to the feast of the Translation of Sts Patrick, Columba, and Brigit which was celebrated on 10 June and for which a proper Office was composed.[15]

The promotion of the cult of St Patrick by de Courcy and his abiding interest in the saint may have been the motivation behind the composition of the proper Office of St Patrick.[16] The Life he commissioned from Jocelin was written soon after the translation of the relics in 1185 and was one of the sources

[13] For the background to the composition of this *Vita*, see Marie Therese Flanagan, 'Jocelin of Furness and the Cult of St Patrick in Twelfth-Century Ulster', in *Jocelin of Furness: Proceedings of 2011 Conference*, ed. by C. Downham (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), pp. 45–56. For the political context of Jocelin's work, see Helen Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (York: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 25–57, 141–70.

[14] Malachias III (Echmílid mac Máel Martain) acceded to the bishopric of Down *c*. 1176 and resigned some time before 1202. For succession lists, see *A New History of Ireland*, ed. by T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne, IX.2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 177–588 (p. 280).

[15] See Dublin, Trinity College, MS 88, fols 367va–369va and Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS 19,954, fols 363ra–364vb. For a published edition, see Messingham, *Officia SS. Patricii*, pp. 54–67.

[16] On the cult of St Patrick and the de Courcy family, see Jean-Michel Picard, 'Early Contacts between Ireland and Normandy: The Cult of Irish Saints in Normandy before the Conquest', in *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, ed. by Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), pp. 85–93 (pp. 92–93).

used in the compilation of the Office being deployed for the lections or readings at Matins by the anonymous authors of the late medieval Office.[17]

Manuscript Sources

The Office of St Patrick is found in various degrees of integrity in twelve manuscripts of either Anglo-Norman or Irish provenance. Five of these sources have musical notation so that it is possible to reconstruct a fully notated Office from their constituent elements.

Sources with Staff Notation

1. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 77 is a mid-fifteenth-century antiphonary from Armagh Cathedral. The *Sanctorale* of the volume is missing, but its psalter contains three notated antiphons for St Patrick sung during a weekly commemoration of the saint at the little hours of Terce ('Iubilemus puro corde', fol. 75va), Sext ('Ut nos deus', fol. 78ra), and None ('Laus et honor', fol. 80rb).

2. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 78 is a mid- to late fifteenth-century antiphonary referred to as the 'Clondalkin Breviary' though its provenance may well be in the Kilkenny/Ossory area.[18] It contains an incomplete but fully notated Office for St Patrick beginning with the first antiphon of First Vespers and ending imperfectly in the middle of the sixth responsory of Matins (fols 150^{r}–151^{v}).

3. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 79 is an antiphonary dating to the second half of the fifteenth century. Marginal entries indicate that the volume belonged to the Church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin, which was administered by the Augustinian canons of the neighbouring Christ Church Cathedral. It is highly probable that the antiphonary originally belonged to the cathedral priory before passing to St John's.[19] The antiphonary contains a fully notated Office of

[17] For a fuller treatment, see Furlong, '*Officium S. Patricii*', I, 21–59. See also William Hawkes, 'The Liturgy in Dublin, 1200–1500: Manuscript Sources', *Reportorium Novum*, 2 (1957–58), 33–67. For detailed descriptions of the manuscripts from TCD, see Colker, *Catalogue*.

[18] See the essay by Patrick Brannon in this volume.

[19] In some dioceses, episcopal statutes directed that monasteries should give old copies of liturgical books to parishes under their patronage. See Raymond Refaussé, 'The Christ Church

St Patrick (fols 160^{r}–162^{v}). It also contains a set of nine lections for the saint's feast written in a sixteenth-century Secretary hand on a folio that was originally blank (fol. 81^{v}). The text of these lections, which is abridged from Jocelin's *Vita S. Patricii Episcopi*, is the same as that found for the feast in both Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS 19,954 and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 86.

4. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 80, referred to as the 'Kilmoone Breviary', is a noted breviary dating from the early fifteenth century. Its provenance is unknown, though it is associated with Kilmoone, Co. Meath. The codex contains the earliest known notated version of the Office of St Patrick (fols 122ra–124vb). This Office is almost complete, beginning imperfectly towards the end of the *antiphona super psalmos* of First Vespers.[20] Being a noted breviary, the volume also contains a set of nine lections for the feast, the text of which corresponds closely to that found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 405 (see below).

5. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 109 is a large-format volume dating to the late fifteenth century and consists of the *Sanctorale* and the *Commune Sanctorum* sections of an antiphonary. Its provenance is uncertain but it is definitely Irish and Franciscan, and probably from a house of Observant or reformed friars. This movement flourished in Ireland from the fifteenth century.[21] The Office of St Patrick in the *Sanctorale* provides notation for the antiphons and hymns of First Vespers and Lauds but not for the rest of the Office (fols 95^{r}–99^{r}).

Two sister processionals associated with the Church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin, but which, like TCD MS 79, most probably belonged originally to Christ Church Cathedral, are Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.4.2.20 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson liturg. d. 4.[22] Both contain notated

Manuscripts in Context', in *The Medieval Manuscripts of Christ Church Cathedral*, ed. by Raymond Gillespie and Raymond Refaussé (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 13–32 (p. 27).

[20] An *antiphona super psalmos* is a single antiphon sung before and after a group of psalms, in this case the five psalms of Vespers.

[21] See Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh OSB, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400–1534* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002). For a discussion of the Observant Franciscan liturgy, see pp. 106–09. The Observant provenance of TCD MS 79 can be postulated from the particular Franciscan feasts it includes. A large-format antiphonary from the Observant Franciscan house in Youghal was still extant *c.* 1616 (Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland*, p. 160).

[22] For a description of these two manuscripts, see Máire Egan-Buffet and Alan Fletcher, 'The Dublin *Visitatio Sepulchri* Play', *PRIA*, 90 C (1990), 159–241.

versions of the Matins responsory *Pontificali infula*.[23] The latter also contains notated versions of the Vespers responsory *Magni patris* with accompanying *prosa*, *Mente munda*, as well as the Magnificat antiphon *Sis pro nobis*.

Sources without Staff Notation

6. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 86 is a breviary of Carmelite Use copied in 1489 for St Mary's Carmelite Priory, Kilcormac, Co. Offaly. Liturgical material for the feast of St Patrick found in the *Sanctorale* consists of the Magnificat antiphon *Veneranda imminentis*, a collect, and a set of nine lections for the Office of Matins abridged from Jocelin's *Vita* (fols 199^{v}–200^{v}).

7. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 88 is a portable breviary of Dublin provenance dating from the first half of the fifteenth century. In addition to a complete Office of St Patrick (fols 345va–348va), the volume also contains the Office of the Translation of SS Patrick, Brigit, and Columba (fols 367va–369va). The lections for the feast of St Patrick are abridged from the Life by Jocelin.

8. Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS 19,954 is a late fifteenth-century portable breviary of Sarum Use which was either written in Ireland or adapted for use there.[24] To date nothing has been published on this manuscript. The presence of entries for Sts Declan, Otteran, and Carthage in the calendar of the breviary, together with material for Sts Declan and Otteran in the *Sanctorale*, indicates a strong connection with the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. The manuscript contains a complete Office for the feast of St Patrick with lections taken from Jocelin (fols 344ra–346va). It also contains a complete Office for the feast of the Translation of Sts Patrick, Columba, and Brigit (fols 363ra–364vb).

9. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 405 is a composite manuscript from Waterford which contains a variety of material ranging in date from the late twelfth to the fourteenth century. Among its contents is a fragment of the *Sanctorale* of a breviary written in a clear English hand of the last quarter of the

[23] Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.4.2.20, fol. 105$^{r–v}$, and Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Rawl. liturg. d. 4, fols 189^{v}–190^{r}.

[24] I am indebted to Frank Lawrence (University College Dublin) for drawing my attention to this source. In 2011 the manuscript was returned by the National Library to St Kieran's College, Kilkenny.

thirteenth century.[25] More than half of this breviary fragment is taken up with liturgical material for Irish saints, including a complete Office of St Patrick.[26] This source is of immense significance in tracing the development of the Patrick Office since it contains the earliest surviving copy of the material. The text of the lections for the Office of Matins of the feast corresponds closely to that found in TCD MS 80.

10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 73 is a thirteenth-century portable Sarum breviary of English provenance, with material for Irish saints inserted in a fourteenth-century hand. These additions include an almost complete Office of St Patrick, the text of which is unfortunately badly smudged and illegible in parts (fols 227ra–228rb). The texts of the lections are particularly significant here, and will be discussed at greater length below.

Regrettably I was unable to consult two of the twelve manuscript sources: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 21604A, an early fifteenth-century breviary, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici liturgici 215, a fifteenth-century breviary. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS 8590–98, a seventeenth-century paper manuscript formerly part of the Bollandist collection, also contains material for the Office of St Patrick copied from an earlier exemplar and beginning imperfectly at the seventh lection of Matins.

Content and Form

The Office of St Patrick is transmitted solely in secular usage, and no monastic version of it is known to survive. Despite the wealth of hagiographic material about this saint available to the author, only a small number of topoi were selected for use in the liturgical texts. Thus, for example, the nine antiphons

[25] For the context of this manuscript, see Colmán Ó Clabaigh, 'Prayer, Politics and Poetry: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 405 and the Templars and Hospitallers at Kilbarry, Co. Waterford', in *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar in Medieval Ireland*, ed. by Martin Browne and Colmán Ó Clabaigh (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015), pp. 206–17. I wish to thank Dr Timothy Bolton for examining the breviary fragment of this manuscript and establishing its date.

[26] There are offices of nine lections for Sts Brigit (pp. 78–94), Patrick (pp. 104–20), and Tygernach (pp. 167–84) and a set of nine lections for St Barrmedinus (pp. 130–45) constituting a *Vita*. The other items are an Office of Corpus Christi and its octave (pp. 33–75), an Office and a Mass for St Anthony (pp. 95–104), and offices for Sts Martin (pp. 121–30), Catherine (pp. 146–60), and the Exaltation of the Cross (pp. 160–67).

and nine responsories of Matins focus only on the themes of Patrick's early years, his captivity in Ireland and release from slavery, and his time in Gaul. They ignore his missionary work in Ireland and his conversion of the Irish people. These texts, moreover, are quite repetitive with motifs recurring between the antiphons and responsories. The five antiphons of Lauds, on the other hand, are conventionally laudatory in tone and merely take up expressions or ideas from the psalms they accompany. Their texts are not hagiographic. Indeed it is noticeable that from Lauds onwards the texts become less specific to the celebration and more generalized in character.

The antiphons of Matins were composed in rhymed prose, though some display elements of accentual rhyming verse. The responsories of Matins are for the most part prose compositions, as are the antiphons of Lauds. While prose was traditionally the preferred literary genre for the chant items of offices, there was a gradual move from prose to poetry during the tenth and eleventh centuries. By the mid-twelfth century the predominant trend was to use poetry, and the majority of newly composed offices after the twelfth century were written in accentual rhyming verse.[27] The Office of Patrick is a hybrid of prose, rhymed prose, and rhymed accentual verse components. New items introduced into First Vespers following a revision of the Office in the first half of the fourteenth century were composed in rhymed accentual verse.

The Hymn Ecce fulget clarissima

An analysis of the texts of the Magnificat antiphon *Veneranda imminentis* and of the antiphons and responsories of Matins reveals the author's reliance for material on the hymn *Ecce fulget clarissima*. The earliest surviving copy of this text is found in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, a collection of hymns in Latin and Irish. There are two manuscript versions of the collection extant: one preserved in Trinity College Dublin (MS 1441), the other in the Franciscan collection now in University College Dublin (OFM-UCD MS A2). *Ecce fulget* is found only in the Trinity copy, which dates from the first half of the eleventh cen-

[27] A 'convenient chronological milepost', as indicated by David Hiley, is the Office of St Thomas of Canterbury composed shortly after the saint's martyrdom in 1170. Offices composed in the insular region before this date are most likely to have been written in prose or rhymed prose while those composed thereafter are generally versified. See David Hiley, 'The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 10 (2001), 23–37 (p. 24). See also the contribution by Barbara Haggh-Huglo in the present volume.

tury, though the hymn itself occurs as a later addition to the earlier material.[28] This hymn has also been discovered on a single folio among a collection of manuscript fragments preserved in the archives and collegiate library of the Schottenstift in Vienna.[29] These fragments, formerly employed as flyleaves or incorporated into the bindings of books, had been excised from liturgical manuscripts that were used in the Schottenstift during the period of occupation by its Irish Benedictine founders. The fragment in question is written in a fine twelfth-century hand and is virtually identical to that of another fragment recently discovered in a private collection in England by Timothy Bolton. The provenance of this latter fragment, which consists of a litany of saints, many of whom originated in North Munster, was identified by Dr Bolton as being the Irish Benedictine monastery of St James in Regensburg.[30] The close similarity between the hands of the two fragments makes it highly likely that the fragment containing *Ecce fulget clarissima* also came from St James. This monastery was the mother house of the Schottenstift in Vienna. It has been observed that a number of the Vienna fragments derive from manuscripts originally produced in Regensburg and subsequently brought to Vienna either at the time of or following the foundation of its daughter house there in 1155.[31]

It is almost certain that the author of *Ecce fulget* wrote the hymn in Ireland, given his use of the demonstrative adjective 'this' (*hec*) to qualify 'island' (*insula*) when referring to Ireland.[32] The hymn was most probably transmitted to St James, Regensburg, through one of the monastery's Irish contacts. All of its monks were recruited in Ireland, and regular contact with Ireland was maintained through the constant flow of Irish pilgrims. In addition, at least two priories dependent on Regensburg existed in Ireland, at Cashel, Co. Tipperary, and

[28] See Ludwig Bieler, 'The Irish Book of Hymns: A Palaeographical Study', *Scriptorium*, 2 (1948), 177–94; repr. in *Ireland and the Culture of Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Richard Sharpe (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), no. VIII, pp. 177–94.

[29] The text is written in two columns of thirty-four lines and the hymn *Ecce fulget* is on the recto side (Fragm. liturg. 98^{r}, cols a–b). For details of these liturgical fragments, see Martin Czernin, 'Fragments of Liturgical Chant from Medieval Irish Monasteries in Continental Europe', *Early Music*, 28.2 (2000), 217–24.

[30] See Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel and Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Irish Saints in a Regensburg Litany', in *Clerics, Kings and Vikings: Essays on Medieval Ireland in Honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin*, ed. by Emer Purcell, Paul MacCotter, Julianne Nyhan, and John Sheehan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015), pp. 55–66.

[31] Czernin, 'Fragments of Liturgical Chant', p. 219.

[32] 'Erat namque *hec* insula' (strophe 5); 'Ad *hanc* [insulam] doctor egregius' (strophe 6).

Rosscarbery, Co. Cork, and the abbots of St James are known to have visited Ireland on various occasions.[33] Furthermore, the Regensburg Schottenkloster was actively interested in the compilation and dissemination of such material, an interest that culminated in its contribution to the twelfth-century *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, a legendary which contains the Lives of some 580 saints, including a considerable number of Irish *Vitae*. This interest in Irish saints and their liturgical commemoration provides a possible context for the hymn's transmission to the Continent.

The Evolution of the Office

The earliest known copy of the Office of St Patrick is unnotated and is found, as mentioned above, in CCCC MS 405, which dates to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. As it predates the later surviving versions by well over a century, a comparative analysis with later editions provides valuable insight into the process of revision that occurred in the course of the history of the transmission of this Office.

In general, the content of the Office of St Patrick displays a high degree of homogeneity in all of the sources for all the Office hours except for First Vespers. There are in fact three versions of this liturgical hour, which are distinguished by the increasing use of proper material. They represent three successive stages in the formation of an increasingly elaborate order of First Vespers for the saint's feast.

Stage one, the earliest layer, is represented by the version found in CCCC MS 405.[34] The only proper material consists of the responsory *Quodam autem tempore* (taken from Matins), the hymn *Ecce fulget clarissima*, and the Magnificat antiphon *Veneranda imminentis*.

Stage two is represented by the version found in TCD MS 80. In this early fifteenth-century source the antiphon *Veneranda imminentis*, formerly the Magnificat antiphon (as in CCCC MS 405), was reassigned to the start of First Vespers, where it now functioned as the *antiphona super psalmos*.[35] The responsory *Pontificali infula* was borrowed from Matins. The hymn remained

[33] See Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent', in *The Irish Benedictines*, ed. by Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (Dublin: Columba Press, 2005), pp. 25–63 (p. 27).

[34] A similar version is found in Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Rawl. C. 73, fol. 227ra.

[35] See note 20 above.

Table 9.1. Evolution of the Office of First Vespers for the feast of St Patrick.

Liturgical Item	**Stage 1**	**Stage 2**	**Stage 3**
Psalmody	Ferial	common	festal *Laudate* psalms
Psalm Antiphon(s)	none provided	antiphona super psalmos: *Veneranda imminentis*	1. *Veneranda imminentis* 2. *Altare lapideum* 3. *Signo cruces edito* 4. *Aquam suis precibus* 5. *Collectis fragminibus*
Responsory	*Quodem autem* (taken from Matins)	*Pontificali infula* (taken from Matins)	*Magni patris sunt miranda*
Prosa	—	—	*Mente munda letabunda*
Hymn	*Ecce fulget clarissima*	*Ecce fulget clarissima*	*Exultent filii*
Magnificat Antiphon	*Veneranda imminentis*	*Sis pro nobis*	*Christi puer capitur*

Ecce fulget clarissima, while the Magnificat antiphon here, *Sis pro nobis*, was a new composition which replaced *Veneranda imminentis*.

Stage three, the final form of Vespers as far as surviving evidence is concerned, is found in most of the mid- to late fifteenth-century manuscripts. Each of the five psalms of Vespers was assigned a separate antiphon. *Veneranda imminentis* was the first psalm antiphon while four new ones, composed in Goliardic verse, were provided for the remaining four psalms. The psalms of Vespers were the festal *Laudate* psalms.[36] A new responsory, *Magni patris*, composed in trochaic septenarius, obviated the need to borrow one from Matins. This responsory was performed in conjunction with a *prosa* or sequence, *Mente munda*.[37] The combination of responsory with accompanying *prosa* made for quite a sophisticated piece whose performance entailed a complicated interchange between soloists and choir. The hymn *Ecce fulget* was dropped and replaced by a new composition, *Exultent filii*. A new Magnificat antiphon, *Christi puer capitur*, replaced *Sis pro nobis*.

Thus the evolution of First Vespers is characterized by an increasing use of proper material (see Table 9.1). Not only was ferial material replaced with fes-

[36] Pss 112, 116, 145, 146, and 147 (Vulgate numbering).

[37] The music of this responsory and prosa was borrowed from the ninth responsory of the Office of St Nicholas, *Ex eius tumba*, with its accompany prosa, *Sospitati*. The melody of this prosa was very popular and inspired numerous contrafacta.

tal, but even original proper material was supplanted by new compositions. In fact, between the end of the thirteenth and the end of the fifteenth century, all the material in this Office, with the exception of the antiphon *Veneranda imminentis*, was replaced with new proper items. This development was obviously inspired by a desire to give greater prominence to First Vespers for the feast of St Patrick and, as will be shown, was probably prompted by the enactment of the liturgical statutes of fourteenth-century episcopal constitutions in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin.[38]

The Episcopal Constitutions of Archbishop Alexander de Bicknor

Episcopal constitutions or statutes regulated the temporal and spiritual affairs of a diocese and were promulgated by a bishop in a synod. Frequently, they included prescriptions regarding liturgical observances. Among the few episcopal constitutions to survive from medieval Ireland those promulgated at the provincial council held by Alexander de Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin (1317–49), *c.* 1320 are of particular interest for this study. One of the statutes (no. 24) ordered that the feast of St Patrick be celebrated as a double throughout the ecclesiastical province of Dublin.

> In medio pectoris nostri Beati Patricii Hiberniae apostoli et patroni memoriam revolvimus qui divina disponente clementia populum Hibernicanum ad fidem convertebat, nonnulla etiam monasteria et ecclesias suis construxit temporibus et multimodis coruscavit miraculis; cuius doctrina, vita et sanctitate Hibernicana fulget ecclesia aliisque multis insigniis decoratur et privilegiis. Ipse nos fovet, ipsiusque meritis et intercessionibus assiduis indies iuvamur et refocillamur, et digne ad sui honoris gloriam et laudem quilibet Catholicus oculos sui cordis et mentis convertere astringitur. Idcirco dignum prorsus arbitramur ut fidelis populus prona voluntate tam excelsi, tam gloriosi patroni nostri memoriam cordialius rememoret ad divinam misericordiam pro peccatis impetrandam. Sacri praesentis approbatione concilii ordinamus et statuimus quod qualibet hebdomada extra Quadragesimam solemnis fiat commemoratio Sanctissimi Patricii patroni nostri per totam provinciam Dubliniensem in aliqua feria vacante cum regimine chori, et quod dies exitus sui ab hoc ergastulo sanctissimus sub duplici festo perpetuis temporibus celebretur.[39]

[38] The ecclesiastical province of Dublin comprised the united diocese of Dublin and Glendalough and the four suffragan sees of Kildare, Ossory, Leighlin, and Ferns.

[39] The Latin text is found in *Records of Convocation XVI: Ireland, 1101–1690*, ed. by Gerard Bray (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), p. 156.

> [With all our heart we contemplate the memory of blessed Patrick, apostle and patron of Ireland, who by divine dispensation converted the Irish people to the faith, built many monasteries and churches in his day and was outstanding in the many and varied miracles he worked. By his teaching, life, and holiness the Irish Church shines forth and is honoured with many distinctions and privileges. He himself cherishes us, and by his merits and constant intercession we are helped and renewed from day to day. Every Catholic is obliged to direct the gaze of his heart and mind in a worthy manner to the glory and praise of Patrick's honour. Therefore we judge it entirely appropriate that the faithful wholeheartedly call to mind the memory of so exalted and glorious a patron so as to obtain divine mercy for their sins. With the approval of the present holy council we ordain and decree that there be a solemn commemoration of our most holy patron, St Patrick, throughout the whole province of Dublin 'with rulers of the choir' (*cum regimine chori*)[40] on a vacant day of some week outside of the Lenten season, and that the most holy day of his passing from the prison of this life be celebrated for all time as a double feast.][41]

In promoting the 'solemn commemoration' of St Patrick throughout the ecclesiastical province of Dublin this statute may well have provided the stimulus for the revision of First Vespers described above. It may also have inspired the composition of the two sequences in honour of St Patrick found in the 'Dublin Troper': *Leta lux est hodierna* and *Letabundus decantet*.[42] It is noteworthy that the themes included in these sequences are identical to those articulated by the new compositions for First Vespers (i.e. the hymn *Exultent filii* and the four psalm antiphons in Goliardic verse). These cite certain miracle stories from Patrick's boyhood, the episode of the leper carried across the sea on an altar stone,[43] the story of the stolen goat bleating in the belly of the thief, and the popular legend of Patrick's banishing the serpents from Ireland. (This last incident is first recorded by Jocelin.)[44] It appears that when the sequences were composed and the Office of First Vespers revised, a certain corpus of material about the saint was in circulation and used repeatedly in liturgical texts.

[40] Rulers of the choir (*rectores chori*) led the singing in choir on Sundays and feast days.

[41] This and other translations from Latin in this article are by the present author.

[42] Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 710, fols 51^{v}–52^{r} and 101^{v}–102^{r}, respectively.

[43] This altar stone was among the relics of St Patrick in the possession of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. See *The Book of Obits and the Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity*, ed. by John Clarke Crosthwaite and James Henthorn Todd (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1844), pp. 3–4.

[44] Jocelin, *Vita S. Patricii Episcopi*, ch. 170. See Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae*, p. 102.

The sequences, according to Hesbert, were composed in Dublin in the middle of the fourteenth century, around 1360.[45] In contrast Droste, on the basis of the notational features of the chant, dates the troper (and consequently the sequences) somewhat earlier, to *c.* 1320.[46] This earlier date coincides with the promulgation of the episcopal constitutions that sought to reinvigorate the cult of St Patrick. It seems reasonable then to suggest that the revision of First Vespers was also carried out shortly after 1320.

Lections

The lections or readings of Matins for the feast of St Patrick found in the manuscript sources can be divided into three different groups based on the *Vita* used by the liturgical authors.

Set 1: Lections compiled from the *Vita tertia* and *Vita quarta*

The most substantial group of lections is found in CCCC MS 405 and TCD MS 80. Both sources use the same text but differ in their arrangement of it. It is difficult to ascertain the origins of this text. Bieler thought it had close affinities with Colgan's *Vita tertia* and *Vita quarta*.[47] More than likely it was composed specifically for use in the Office as it is well constructed and the narrative extends from Patrick's birth to his death. The author drew on a number of disparate sources when he compiled it. Sharpe has noted that the essential background to the revision of saints' lives from the late thirteenth century onwards was the production of texts for the liturgical lections.[48] This process is well attested from other liturgical cults.

[45] See *Le Tropaire-Prosaire de Dublin*, ed. by René-Jean Hesbert, Monumenta Musicae Sacrae, 4 (Rouen: Imprimerie Rouennaise, 1966), p. 11. For a more recent opinion on this source, see Ann Buckley, 'The Dublin Troper', in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, ed. by Harry White and Barra Boydell, 2 vols (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013), p. 331.

[46] See Diane Droste, 'The Musical Notation and Transmission of the Music of the Sarum Use, 1225–1500' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983), see *Canadian Theses on Microfiche*, 59826 (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1984), p. 330.

[47] See Ludwig Bieler, 'Codices Patriciani Latini: Addenda et Corrigenda', *ABoll.*, 63 (1945), 242–56 (p. 256).

[48] Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 382.

Set 2: Lections compiled from Jocelin's *Vita S. Patricii Episcopi*

The lections for the feast of St Patrick in TCD MSS 79 and 86 and Dublin, NLI, MS 19,954 are all drawn from Jocelin's *Vita S. Patricii Episcopi* and consist of abridged accounts of much longer episodes. The text of the lections is more or less the same, though each source arranges it differently. The first lection functions as an introduction to the feast and is conventionally laudatory in tone. The next five lections are all abridged from the early chapters of the *Vita* by Jocelin and recount miracles performed by Patrick during his infancy and childhood. The last three lections consist of a homily based on the Gospel pericope read at Matins (Luke 12. 35–36) and are taken from the final chapters of the *Vita*.

The lections in TCD MS 88 are also taken from Jocelin, but they are much longer and consist both of summary accounts of much longer episodes as well as passages quoted directly from the *Vita*. They are compiled in a perfunctory manner. No effort has been made to form a continuous narrative, and episodes are randomly juxtaposed. Table 9.2 provides chapter references to material in the lections drawn from Jocelin's *Vita S. Patricii Episcopi*.

Table 9.2. Use of Jocelin's *Vita S. Patricii Episcopi* in lections of Matins.

Lection	NLI MS 19,954	TCD MS 79	TCD MS 86	TCD MS 88
1	introduction	introduction	introduction	introduction; cc. 1, 4, 5.
2	cc. 1, 2	c. 1	cc. 1, 2	cc. 21, 25, 26, 30, 31
3	cc. 2, 3	c. 2	cc. 2, 3, 4	cc. 45, 70, 87, 90, 114
4	cc. 4, 5	c. 3	cc. 5, 6, 7	cc. 170, 119, 120, 124
5	cc. 6, 7, 10	c. 4	cc. 10, 11, 13	cc. 156, 183, 185
6	cc. 11, 13, 15	cc. 5, 6	cc. 15, 16	c. 185
7	homily	homily	homily	homily
8	c. 183	c. 183	cc. 17, 18	c. 190
9	c. 183	c. 183	cc. 19, 21	cc. 192, 196

Set 3: Lections from the *Vita Cottoniana*

The nine lections of Matins for the feast of St Patrick in the breviary Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Rawl. C. 73, are of particular interest because of their connection with an anonymous *Vita Sancti Patricii* whose incipit and explicit were transcribed in 1656 by Sir James Ware in a notebook, now Oxford, Bodleian

Library, MS Rawlinson B. 479.[49] Ware made his transcription from a manuscript that, along with others in his possession,[50] was subsequently badly damaged in the fire at Ashburnham House, London, in 1731. What survives of this manuscript is now London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E. vii. Esposito noted that 'what remains of the *Vita* is found on ff. 10^{r}–12^{v}, three badly mutilated leaves written in double columns in a hand of the thirteenth century'.[51] Bieler attempted to reconstruct the surviving text by comparing it to the *Vita tertia* and Jocelin's *Vita S. Patricii Episcopi*, to both of which this Life is closely related.[52] The incipit, as transcribed by Ware, reads:

> Gloriosus confessor de genere Britonum religiosis parentibus, patre Calpurnio matre Conche, in confinio maris Hibernici de Tabernaculorum campo iuxta Empthor opidum fuisse legitur oriundus.
>
> [The glorious confessor, Patrick, was a Briton by race, born of devout parents — Calpurnius was his father and Concessa his mother — in 'the plain of the tents' close by the Irish Sea, near the town of Empthor. From the very beginning the Lord set his childhood apart by spiritual gifts, wondrously giving it glory by means of three miracles.]

This text corresponds exactly to the beginning of the first lection of Matins in this breviary, and it seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that the text of the lections comes from this same *Vita*, the *Vita Cottoniana*, as Bieler called it. Furthermore, the beginning of Bieler's reconstructed text, which recounts Patrick's experiences in Gaul, corresponds to the end of the seventh lection of Matins, the correspondence continuing into lections eight and nine. Therefore, the material extending from the end of the first lection to the begin-

[49] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. B. 479, fol. 77^{r}. Details of the contents of this manuscript are found in Charles McNeill, 'Reports on Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. 3. Rawlinson Manuscripts (Class B)', *Analecta Hibernica*, 1 (1930), 118–78 (pp. 121–26).

[50] Another Irish manuscript damaged in this fire is the twelfth-century 'Cormac's Psalter', now London, British Library, Add. MS 36929.

[51] See Mario Esposito, 'Notes on Latin Learning and Literature in Medieval Ireland, V', *Hermathena*, 50 (1937), 139–83; repr. *Latin Learning in Medieval Ireland*, ed. by Michael Lapidge (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), no. VIII, pp. 139–83 (pp. 139–40).

[52] See Ludwig Bieler, 'Anecdotum Patricianum: Fragments of a Life of St. Patrick from MSS Cotton Vitellius E. vii and Rawlinson B 479', in *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, ed. by Sylvester O'Brien (Dublin: Assisi Press, 1944), pp. 220–37; repr. in *Studies on the Life and Legend of St Patrick*, ed. by Richard Sharpe (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), no. XIX, pp. 220–37.

ning of the seventh, which was neither transcribed by Ware nor formed part of Bieler's reconstruction, represents, in all likelihood, a lost portion of the *Vita Cottoniana*.

Conclusion

The medieval Office of St Patrick originated most probably in an Anglo-Norman milieu. Its final version was the result of a process of compilation and redaction extending well over a century. Drawing on the hymn *Ecce fulget clarissima*, and on a variety of hagiographical sources, it represents the desire of the Church in Ireland to afford fitting veneration and honour to the Romano-British slave who, hearing the voice of the Irish, returned as their apostle. Despite the religious and academic interest in St Patrick, the relative obscurity of this Office in modern expressions of the saint's cult and the lack of critical scholarly attention it has received is puzzling. Much remains to be done to contextualize it and to establish all of its elements. It is hoped that the present essay may make some modest contribution to that process.

Appendix

Hymn: Ecce fulget clarissima

1. Ecce fulget clarissima Patricii sollempnitas in qua carne deposita felix transcendit sidera.	1. Behold the shining brightness of the solemnity of Patrick when, having laid aside his body, he joyfully ascends to heaven.
2. Qui mox a puericia diuina plenus gracia uitam cepit diligere dignitatis angelice.	2. Already from his boyhood he was filled with divine grace and began to love the life of angelic dignity.
3. Hic felici prosapia ortus est in Britannia perceptoque baptismate studet ad alta tendere.	3. This man of blessed lineage was born in Britain and after receiving baptism strove to attain the heights.
4. Sed futurorum prescius clemens et rectus dominus hunc direxit apostolum Hibernie ad populum.	4. But the merciful and just Lord, knowing the shape of future things, directed this apostle to the people of Ireland.
5. Erat namque hec insula bonis terre fructifera, sed cultore ydolatra mergebatur ad infima.	5. For this island was rich in the good things of the earth yet dragged down to the lowest point by idolatrous worship.
6. Ad hanc doctor egregius adueniens Patricius predicabat gentilibus quod tenebat operibus.	6. Arriving on this island the noble teacher, Patrick, preached to the pagans what he lived in his life.

7. Confluebat gentilitas
ad eius sacra monita
et respuens diabolum
colebat regem omnium.

8. Gaudebatque se liberam
remeasse ad patriam,
qua serpentis astucia
olim expulsa fuerat.

9. Qua propter, dilectissimi,
huius in laude presulis
psallamus Christo cordibus
alternantes et uocibus.

10. Ut illius suffragio
liberati a uicio
perfruamur in gloria
uisione angelica.

11. Laus Patri sit in Filio
cum Spiritu Paraclito,
qui sue dono gratie
misertus est Hybernie. Amen

7. The heathen flocked to hear
his sacred warnings
and spitting out the devil
worshipped the King of all.

8. And rejoicing to be free
they returned to their homeland
from which once they had been
banished through the serpent's cunning.

9. Therefore, most beloved,
let us sing psalms in turn to Christ
with heart and voice
in praise of this bishop.

10. Set free from vice,
may we with his help
abundantly enjoy
the angelic vision in glory.

11. Praise be to the Father, in the Son
with the Spirit Paraclete,
who by the gift of his grace
has shown mercy to Ireland. Amen

A Divine Office Celebration for the Feast of St Canice at Kilkenny Cathedral

Patrick Brannon

An Office for the feast of the Irish St Canice, or Kenneth, patron saint of Kilkenny Cathedral, is contained in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 78, a late fifteenth-century Sarum Antiphonal known as the Clondalkin Breviary. The Office of Canice, whose feast is celebrated on 11 October, features twenty-nine notated texts distributed among Vespers, Matins, and Lauds and, at the present time, is not known to exist in its complete form in any other source. TCD MS 78 is one of four notated Irish Sarum Office manuscripts at Trinity College with contents that are similar to several late medieval English Sarum sources. The Sarum Rite, the primary English liturgical use which emanated from Salisbury Cathedral, was first introduced into Ireland in the late twelfth century. In an attempt to replace disparate liturgical practices that varied from region to region in Ireland, church officials viewed the Sarum Use as a rite that would provide liturgical uniformity, and because of the clarity with which the use's rituals and ceremonies were described, it could be easily adapted to local requirements.[1]

[1] For a fuller discussion of the introduction of the Sarum Rite in the medieval Irish Church, see Patrick Brannon, 'A Contextual Study of the Four Notated Sarum Divine Office Manuscripts from Anglo-Norman Ireland' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington University, St Louis, 1990), pp. 8–43. For an updated discussion of the introduction of the Sarum Rite following the 1172 Synod of Cashel, see Frank Lawrence, 'What Did They Sing at Cashel

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Below, I provide a description of TCD MS 78, its contents, possible origin and history, and an analysis of the stylistic qualities of the chant melodies for the feast of Canice. The examination of texts and music for the Office of Canice is part of a earlier, larger study that compared the four surviving late medieval Irish Sarum Office manuscripts (Dublin, Trinity College, MSS 77, 78, 79, and 80) with two similar English Sarum Office sources: Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 152, a fifteenth-century noted breviary, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 224,[2] a mid- to late-fourteenth-century noted breviary. The English manuscripts serve as a 'control group' by which additions to the Irish Office sources may be identified, particularly those elements that might represent Irish liturgical practice. The inclusion of a full Office for the celebration of the feast of Canice appears to be a particularly Irish accretion to the Sarum liturgy.[3]

TCD MS 78: The Manuscript

TCD MS 78 (formerly B.1.3) is a large antiphonal probably intended for choir use in the singing of the Divine Office.[4] Measuring 464 x 318 mm (approximately 18 x 12 inches), the manuscript has 177 leaves of parchment and is bound in brown leather-covered pasteboard which appears to have suffered from moisture or water damage. The two opening folios are torn away, and the following fourteen are severely stained, making portions of them difficult to read; many folios are missing. The manuscript features only one broad column on most of its folios, with the exception of the Psalter (fols 85–108) which has two columns per folio. Each folio contains sixteen musical staves in red with

in 1172? Winchester, Sarum and Romano-Frankish Chant in Ireland', *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland*, 3 (2007–8), 111–25.

[2] Formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS E Mus 2 (*A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the quarto series : with references to the Oriental and other manuscripts*, ed. by H. H. E. Craster, N. Denholm-Young, R. W. Hunt, F. Madan, 7 vols in 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895–1953), II.2 (1953), 655–56, no. 3491).

[3] See Brannon, 'A Contextual Study', pp. 44–79, for a fuller discussion of the comparison of the Irish Sarum sources with the two English Sarum manuscripts. Cf. Patrick Brannon, 'The Search for the Celtic Rite: The TCD Sarum Divine Office MSS Reassessed', in *Music and the Church*, ed. by Gerard Gillen and Harry White, Irish Musical Studies, 2 (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), pp. 13–40.

[4] William Hawkes, 'The Liturgy in Dublin, 1200–1500: Manuscript Sources', *Reportorium Novum*, 2 (1957–58), 33–67 (p. 47).

black square notation and text below or, in the absence of musical notation, forty-one lines of text. The contents of MS 78 are clearly from the Sarum Use and are arranged in the following order:

1. *Temporale* (fols 1^{r}–77^{r}). Begins with the feast of St John the Evangelist on 27 December, though due to soiled folios is illegible until the feast of the Epiphany; a Dedication is included (fols 73^{v}–77^{r}).
2. Canticles (fols 77^{r}–78^{v}), Benediction (fol. 78^{v}).
3. Kalendar (fols 79^{r}–84^{v}). Complete, and includes many Irish saints (some in the original hand, some added later) as well as obituaries in a later hand.
4. Psalter (fols 85^{r}–108^{r}). Divided into two sections: fols 85^{r}–96^{v} (with notation) contains psalms for ferial days and Sundays; fols 96^{v}–108^{r} (no notation) with psalms for special feasts. Incomplete at beginning where several folios are missing. Not organized in numerical order. Fol. 108^{v} originally blank; special psalms and canticles (without music) added.
5. Common of Saints (fols 109^{r}–129^{v}). Complete, except for material missing in the middle of the services for Martyrs.
6. *Sanctorale* (fols 130^{r}–177^{v}). Incomplete due to loss of folios; includes several Irish saints: Aidan, Brigit, Mokyn (presumably Muicín of Moyne), Ciarán of Saighir, Patrick, and Canice, in addition to a reference to Kilkenny (fol. 170^{r}).[5]

Of all the sections in a medieval manuscript, the kalendar may provide the most information about how various feasts in the church year were celebrated at a particular ecclesiastical institution, and because kalendars vary somewhat in accordance with regional tradition and local practice, they may contain information that provides clues about the dating, origin, and use of a manuscript.[6] The kalendar for MS 78 is no exception in providing a wealth of clues about the volume. Despite some water and moisture damage, it is fairly clear, easy to read, and in good condition; in comparison to kalendars in other manuscripts discussed here, MS 78 has more entries and not as much blank space on the page. Each month receives a full side of a folio (the conventional arrangement), and as is typical, the entries are in red and black. Despite the large number of

[5] Colker, *Catalogue*, I, 122–25.

[6] For a general discussion of the kalendar, see *MMMO*, pp. 275–80.

English saints included (a total of thirty-seven in the original hand), only two are entered in red: Thomas of Canterbury (29 December) and George (not really an 'English' saint, but the patron saint of England, 23 April). By contrast, four of MS 78's thirty-three Irish saints are entered in red, namely, Brigit (1 February), Ciarán (5 March), Patrick (17 March), and Canice (11 October). The use of more Irish than English red-letter feasts is unusual; indeed, the inclusion of these four saints as red-letter feasts may suggest a strong Irish presence at the ecclesiastical institution for which MS 78 was copied.[7]

Texts for the Feast of Canice

The *Sanctorale* in TCD MS 78 features twenty-nine chants set to rhymed verse (including antiphons, verses, responsories, two hymns, and a single invitatory) for the feast of Canice (fols 168^{r}–170^{v}). These materials, distributed among Vespers, Matins, and Lauds, include also three antiphons for the octave of the feast. Since Canice is not usually included in the Sarum kalendar, nor are proper texts for the feast ordinarily featured in the Sarum *Sanctorale*, his feast does not occur in the contol group, Salisbury MS 152 and Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS 224, or in the Sarum printed breviary.[8] Reliable biographical information about Canice is scarce, although a few alleged facts are known. Canice, a sixth-century saint, son of a bard, was born at Glengiven, Co. Derry; as a young man he went to Wales where he was ordained. He allegedly visited Rome and then returned to Ireland.[9] Two items in the Office refer to the Rome visit; the first, the Vespers antiphon *Rogum in Italia*, makes a passing reference to Italy:

Rogum in Italia	In Italy you did conquer
ardentem vicisti	a flaming pyre,
a quo Dei gratia	whence by God's grace
illaesus existe,	you came forth unharmed
Gehennae nos libera	deliver us
ab ardore triste.	from Gahenna's sad flame.

[7] For a full discussion of the classification of feasts, see Brannon, 'A Contextual Study', pp. 161–64.

[8] *BrevS*.

[9] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, 4 vols (New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1965), IV, 86–87. See also Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), pp. 138–40.

The second reference to Italy occurs in a stanza of a Lauds hymn, *Ihesus redemptor omnium*:[10]

Ingressus in Italiam	Having gone to Italy
ingnis foracem superat	he overcame the furnace of fire,
quem miram per potentiam	he whom by wondrous power
Deus a mari liberat.	God delivered from the sea.

After preaching in Rome for a time, he returned to Ireland where he established monastic foundations at Aghaboe in Ossory and at Kilkenny, where the cathedral is named in his honour.[11] Eventually Canice went to Scotland as a missionary where he built numerous churches and where, for a time, he was associated with St Columba. Because of Canice's activities in Ireland and Scotland, he is described in an antiphon text as a 'flower of Ireland' and 'leader and patron of Scotland'. In addition to illuminating bare-bones biographical stories and legends, most of the text for the Office pays homage to Canice and extols his virtues as a missionary.

How do the proper texts for Irish saints compare to proper texts for other (non-Irish) saints in the English Sarum *Sanctorale*? A preliminary examination of the English volumes reveals that most proper Office texts are written in prose style, though a few are rhymed or have rhymed elements. Two English feasts in the Sarum Office, those of Chad and the Translation of Osmund, are rhymed. Both were instituted relatively late: Chad in 1415, and the Translation of Osmund in 1480. Older feasts, such as the Purification of Mary, which began in Jerusalem as early as the fourth century and spread to Rome by the seventh, are written in prose style in the Sarum *Sanctorale*, perhaps suggesting that older feasts in the Sarum Office were written in prose while newer feasts, at least fifteenth-century feasts, tended to be written in verse.[12] While the conclusions below must be viewed tentatively, the presence of rhymed verse in the Canice Office may suggest two possibilities for the origin of the Canice texts.

First, the texts may have been written in rhymed verse in Ireland during the fifteenth century because such a convention was customary during this time, as evidenced by the contemporary rhymed Sarum Office for Chad and the Translation of Osmund. Or, the texts may have been created with a conscious imitation of the style of earlier, pre-Norman Irish practice: the use of rhymed

[10] See Ciaran O'Driscoll in this volume.

[11] *Butler's Lives*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, IV, 86–87; cf. Ó Riain, *A Dictionary*.

[12] See Barbara Haggh-Huglo in this volume.

verse, which — according to Michael Curran — was the 'privileged medium of literary expression' in medieval Ireland, as evidenced in the late seventh-century Antiphonary of Bangor.[13]

Second, the Office texts may be of native Irish or possibly Continental Irish origin, perhaps written by Irish authors who preferred verse and who were intimately acquainted with, or had access to, the *vitae* and legends about Canice. The texts may be as old as the so-called 'Celtic Rite' (which flourished in Ireland from the sixth to twelfth centuries) and may have been passed down via oral tradition until they were finally written down, possibly in older Irish exemplars which have since been lost or destroyed, though this is impossible to verify with evidence currently available.[14]

Melodies for the Celebration of the Feast of Canice

While the texts for the feast of Canice may be fairly distinctive (MS 78 is the only known source to feature the Canice Office), is it possible to determine the distinctiveness of the melodies? A comparison of each of the twenty-nine chants with the melodic formulae set forth in Walter Frere's landmark study, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, reveals that most of the chants for Canice appear to be based on familiar melodic language as defined by Frere.[15] Using, in part, Frere's system of comparative analysis, three categories are presented to determine the distinctive qualities of a chant melody. While Frere deals with Sarum melodies that developed in the late twelfth century, he cautions that 'the bulk of this music is of much older date, and is not merely local in use: it belongs to the Western Church as a whole'.[16] The classifications of categories are as follows:

1. Frere's 'typical' category, in which entire chants or sections of chants make nearly literal use of melodic material with little change;
2. *Sections* of chant that are somewhat similar, or adapted from existing melodies;

[13] Michael Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984), p. 89.

[14] Brannon, 'The Search for the Celtic Rite', pp. 13–16; see also Ann Buckley, 'Celtic Chant', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), v, 341–49.

[15] *AntS*; the melodic formulae used in Frere's study are dispersed throughout the volume.

[16] *AntS*, i, 1.

3. Melodies that do not conform to the established norm or fit either of the above categories.

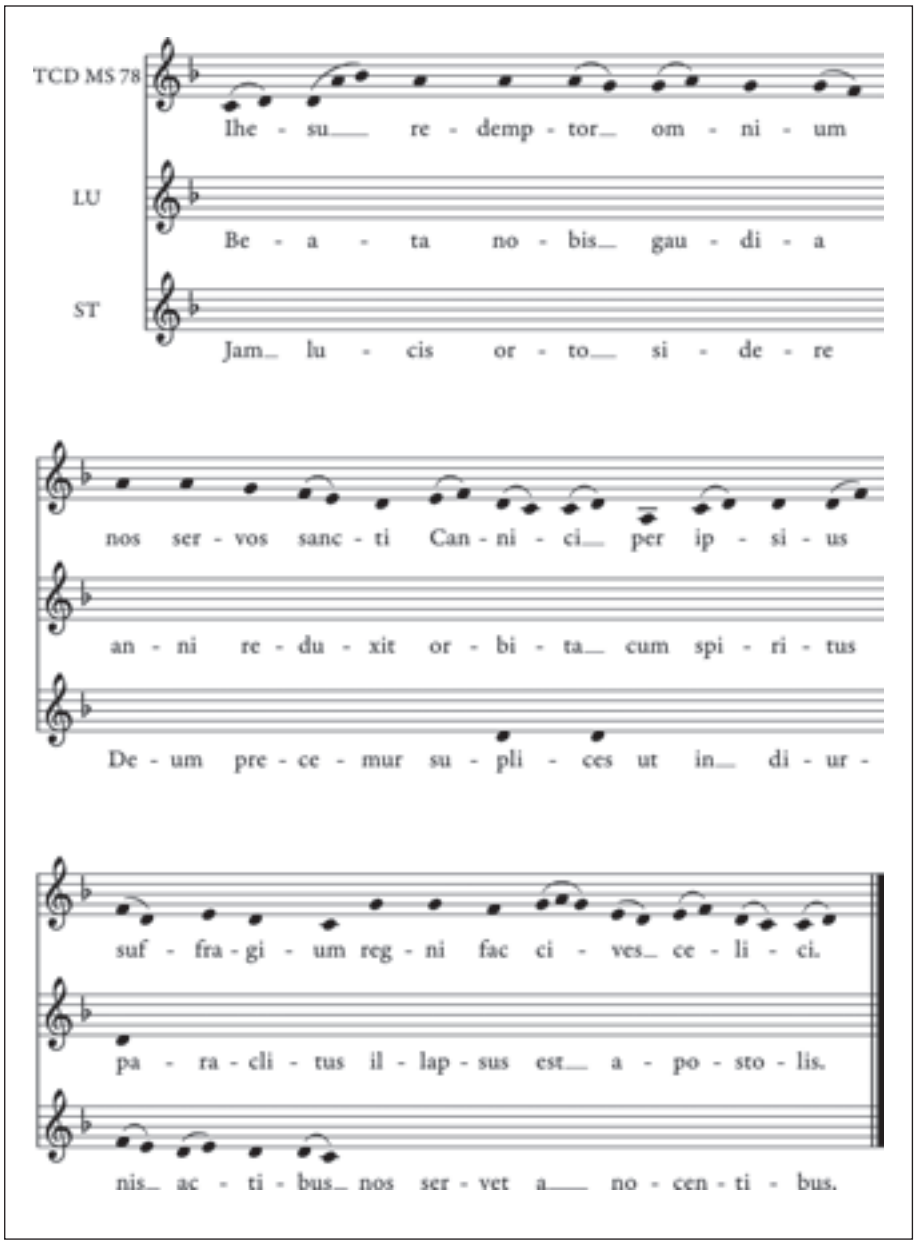
Although Frere's chant categorization deals with antiphons, invitatories, responsories, and verses, his study does not deal with hymns. None of the Canice antiphons, invitatories, responsories, or verses correspond to Category 1; however, the two hymns in the Office are almost completely concordant with other hymns in the chant repertoire. An examination of these might be helpful in understanding how standard the hymn melodies in the Canice Office are. In Music Example 10.1, the Canice hymn for Lauds, *Ihesu redemptor*,[17] in Mode 1 with a final on *D*, is nearly identical to *Beata nobis gaudia*, found in the *Antiphonale Monasticum*, and *Iam lucis orto sidere*, found in Stäblein's *Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes* and the *Liber Usualis*.[18] The similarity between the Canice hymn and *Beata nobis* and *Iam lucis orto* suggests that the *Ihesu redemptor* text was set to a well-known chant melody that was most likely in wide circulation.

The overwhelming majority of melodies in the Canice Office — twenty-six out of the twenty-nine chants — fall into Category 2, which features chants that make use of phrases that are from a common stock, but which do not completely agree with a formula from beginning to end, as in Category 1. Two examples provide some indication of how common musical phrases appear to be borrowed or adapted for use in the Canice Office. In Music Example 10.2, the opening Vespers antiphon for the Canice Office, *O pastor pie Cannice*, is also in Mode 1 with a final on *D*, and an ambitus of *C–d*. The chant features mostly stepwise motion with a musical climax on the first syllable of *concivis*. The melody tends to emphasize *d*, *f*, and *a*, creating a tertial construction; in fact nearly every word of the text ends on the tones *d*, *f*, or *a*, with the exception of the words *me* and *concivis*. A comparison of *O pastor pie* with Frere's typical melodic formula for Mode 1 (D) antiphons, as represented by *Cum immundus spriritus*,[19] reveals that the Canice melody, while following the general outline of Frere's melodic formula, may have been adapted to fit the text for Canice, resulting in a longer chant with some differences when compared to Frere's typical chant for Mode 1.

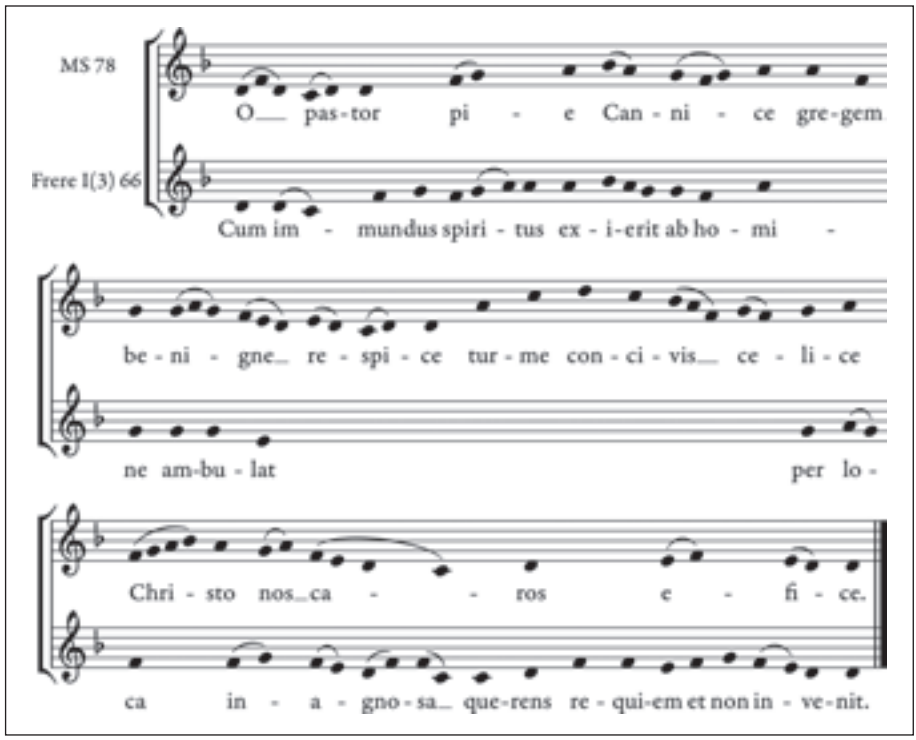
[17] Cf. O'Driscoll in this volume.

[18] *Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1934), 522; *Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, ed. by Bruno Stäblein, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), p. 38; *Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1959), p. 876.

[19] *AntS*, I, 66.



Music Example 10.1. Lauds hymn *Ihesu redemptor*, from Dublin, Trinity College, MS 78, fol. 169^{v}.

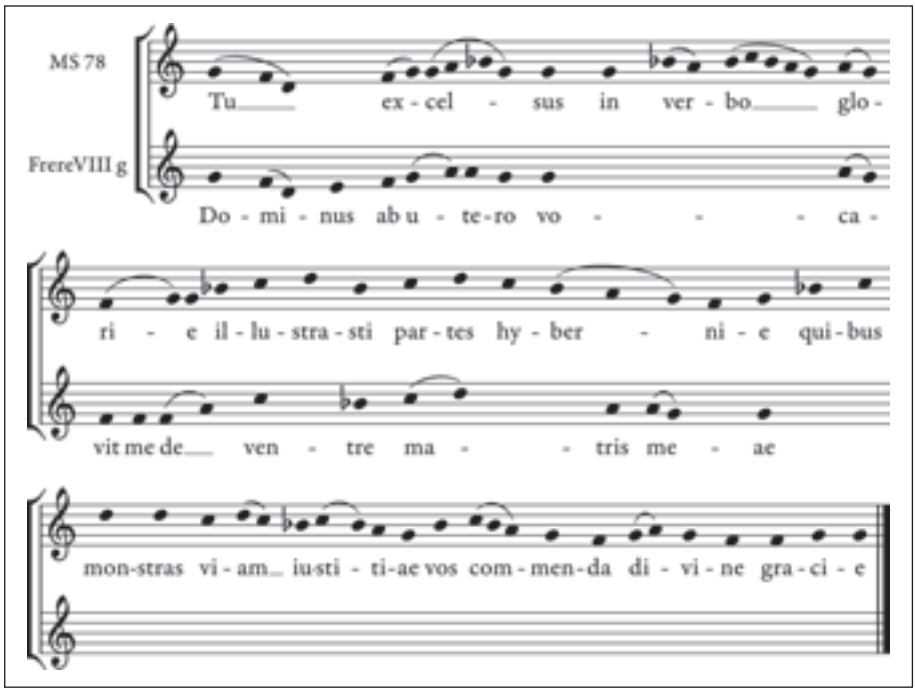


Music Example 10.2. First Vespers antiphon *O pastor pie Cannice*, from Dublin, Trinity College, MS 78, fol. 168[r].

A second chant for Canice in Category 2, *Tu excelsus in verbo* is an antiphon in Mode 4, transposed up a fifth, with a final on *B* and an ambitus of *G–a*. In order to better understand Music Example 10.3's melodic similarity to a chant provided in Frere's *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, it is here transposed down a fifth.[20] *Tu excelsus in verbo* shares a similar melodic contour with *Dominus ab utere* (described as a typical Mode 8 (G) chant), and features mostly stepwise motion with occasional skips of a third.[21] Added musical phrases in the Canice chant (on 'in verbo' and 'quibus monstras viam iustitiae vos commenda') extend and provide a more elaborate melody; however, *Tu excelsus in verbo* seems to share melodic similarities with *Dominus ab utero*.

[20] Following discussion with Ann Buckley, the last five notes, GFFGG, above '[di]vine gracie' have here been adjusted as there appears to be a scribal error in the manuscript which reads CAABB for what should undoubtedly be DCCDD at the close of a Mode 2 melody.

[21] *AntS*, I, 74.

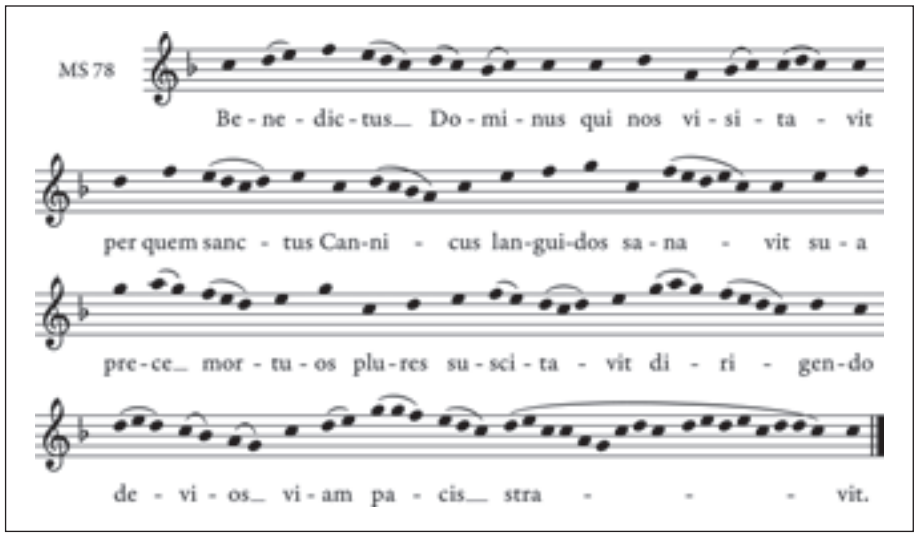


Music Example 10.3. First Vespers antiphon *Tu excelsus in verbo*, from Dublin, Trinity College, MS 78, fol. 168^{r}.

Category 3 features chants that do not conform to typical melodies, melodic phrases, or cadences. Only a single chant in the Canice repertoire appears to fall into this category, the Lauds antiphon *Benedictus Dominus* (Music Example 10.4). This chant is in Mode 8 transposed up a fourth with a final on *C* and an ambitus from *G* to *a*. The melody is more melismatic than most of the other chants in the Canice Office; and while much of this chant is in stepwise motion, there is a greater number of larger intervals than are found in much of the Canice Office. Also, the first, third, and final tend to be emphasized in the melody, with many of the words ending on *C*, *E*, or *G*, creating a kind of tertial construction for this distinctive chant.

TCD MS 78: Origin and Later History

Although MS 78 is known as the 'Clondalkin Breviary' and was undoubtedly associated with Clondalkin (Co. Dublin) during part of its history, its origin has been the subject of disagreement among scholars. Walter Frere



Music Example 10.4. Lauds antiphon *Benedictus Dominus*, from Dublin, Trinity College, MS 78, fol. 170r.

first surmised in 1901 that the volume was 'perhaps from Kilkenny',[22] basing this conclusion on the observation that the kalendar contains major double feasts for Sts Ciarán and Canice, who are associated with Kilkenny, the seat of the Diocese of Ossory.[23] In 1956 William Hawkes noted the manuscript's sixteenth-century association with Clondalkin; indeed, the name appears

[22] *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica: A Descriptive Handlist of the Musical and Latin-Liturgical MSS of the Middle Ages Preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Walter H. Frere, 2 vols (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901–32; repr. London: George Olms Hildesheim, 1967), II, 62.

[23] The church at Kilkenny was founded in honour of St Canice (d. 599 or 600); the name Cill Chainnigh means 'Church of Canice', though the principal church was originally located at Aghaboe, Co. Laois, 38 km north-west. Early annals contain no evidence of the monastery; however, an existing round tower suggests that a monastic settlement was located on the site. The first reference to Kilkenny is in 1085 when the monastery burned; the abbots of Aghaboe were referred to as *comharba Cainnigh* (the 'successors of Canice'), and their names are recorded in the Annals of Ulster. After the twelfth century, Aghaboe is no longer referred to; it is believed that the abbots transferred the seat of power from there to the Church of St Canice in Kilkenny. At the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1111, Kilkenny was chosen as the episcopal church of the newly organized Diocese of Ossory (Osraige). See *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland: With an Appendix to Early Sites*, ed. by Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), pp. 84–85.

in an added hand four times throughout the volume in entries by a William Gibbons, who is described by Hawkes as 'an inveterate scribbler'.[24] A sampling of Gibbons's entries include:

> Be it known to all men be thes present that I Williame gibbons, clandalkan in the county (fol. 79^{v});
>
> Be it knowen to all mene be thes presents that I william gibbons in the conty of dublin doth ack (fol. 107^{r}).

Though Hawkes does not rule out the possibility that MS 78 was intended for Clondalkin, he asserts that the manuscript was written for the church at Finglas (north Co. Dublin) because the church there was named for St Canice who, as Frere has pointed out, receives special attention in MS 78's kalendar. Hawkes further suggests that Frere's original association of MS 78 with Kilkenny is in error because it was based on a misreading of the classification of the feast given to Ciarán in the kalendar.[25] In more recent years, Marvin Colker concluded that the manuscript was 'originally used' at Clondalkin; Diane Droste, too, notes the Clondalkin association, but also suggests an association with yet another Dublin area church, Kilmainham (three miles from Clondalkin), because of the inclusion of the patron saint of Kilmainham church, Magnanus or Maigniu (18 December), in the kalendar.[26]

Two of these sites may be ruled out as places of origin for the volume, based upon evidence in the kalendar. Hawkes has already speculated that the church at Clondalkin was an unlikely site for the origin of MS 78 because the feast for the patron of the church there, Machutus (i.e. Mochua, 6 August), was added to the kalendar after it had originally been copied.[27] The feast of Maigniu, or Magnanus (18 December), associated with Kilmainham, was also added in a later hand.[28]

[24] Hawkes, 'The Liturgy in Dublin', p. 49.

[25] Hawkes, 'The Liturgy in Dublin', p. 49.

[26] Colker, *Catalogue*, 1, 124; and Diane Lynn Droste, 'The Musical Notation and Transmission of the Music of the Sarum Use, 1225–1500' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983); see *Canadian Theses on Microfiche*, 59826 (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1984), pp. 337–38.

[27] See *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, ed. by Gwynn and Hadcock, p. 31; Myles V. Ronan, 'Religious Customs of the Dublin Medieval Guilds', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 26 (1925), 224–47, 364–85 (p. 227); Myles V. Ronan, 'Anglo-Norman Dublin and Diocese', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th ser., 47 (1936), 28–44, 144–63, 495–68 (p. 33).

[28] A monastery was founded at Kilmainham in the seventh century by St Maigniu. See *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, ed. by Gwynn and Hadcock, pp. 353, 394.

If the manuscript had been intended for either Clondalkin or Kilmainham, the respective patron saint's name would most certainly have been included in the kalendar in the original hand. Although these Dublin area sites may have been significant in the later history of MS 78, they can be ruled out as possibilities for the volume's place of origin.

Further examination of MS 78's kalendar reveals that four saints with entries in the original hand are associated with the Diocese of Ossory: Ciarán (5 March), Monochus (Modhomhnóg, 13 February), Lachtnán (19 March), and Nadalis (31 July). Also included in the original hand are saints whose names are associated with sites within close proximity to Kilkenny: Laserian of Leighlin (15 km north-east of Kilkenny); Aidan and Moling, both of Ferns (76 km south-east of Kilkenny); Berus of Kilberry (some 52 km north-east of Kilkenny); and Fintan of Clonenagh (about 47 km north-west of Kilkenny). Although these foundations are not in the Diocese of Ossory, their inclusion in the kalendar reinforces the speculation that the manuscript was associated with an ecclesiastical institution in the Kilkenny-Ossory area. Evidence contained in an antiphon for Second Vespers for the feast of Canice seems to provide strong evidence that the volume was originally designed for the Cathedral at Kilkenny:

Dulcescat filiis	Sweet unto the sons
patris memoria	is the father's memory
cuius prodigiis	by whose great works
viget Ossoria	Ossory thrives,
sacris praesidiis	under whose sacred protection
floret Kilkenia	Kilkenny blooms;
eius suffragiis	by his intercession
donentur gaudia	may joys be given us
nobis in patria	in the fatherland.

The text above not only makes reference to Ossory, but specifically cites Kilkenny. This antiphon — integrated into the manuscript in the original hand — appears to be of greater significance regarding the manuscript's origin than added entries that cite other locations. Colker notes the special text for Canice in his description of MS 78, but does not conclude that the volume may have been copied for or associated with Kilkenny Cathedral. The Vespers antiphon with its direct reference to Kilkenny and Ossory may suggest that MS 78 was originally copied for use at Kilkenny. It is unclear whether or not the volume was actually used at Kilkenny, however; its later history will be examined below.

Regarding the dating of MS 78, there is no dispute that the manuscript is a relatively late one, dating from the late fifteenth century, though the exact decade has not been conclusively determined. All previous researchers who have examined or catalogued MS 78 (Frere, Hawkes, Droste, and Colker) date MS 78 in the mid- to late fifteenth century.[29] An examination of the feasts included in MS 78's kalendar reveals that all of the feasts inaugurated in the fifteenth century — including a group initiated in the late 1480s — are written in the original hand, suggesting that MS 78 was copied some time after *c*. 1488. Furthermore, three feasts, for Machutus and Audoen (6 and 24 August, respectively, fol. 82^{v}) and the feast of St Magnanus (18 December, fol. 84^{v}), were added, according to Colker, in a fifteenth-century hand, suggesting that the antiphonary was copied probably some time before *c*. 1500.[30]

Obituary and other entries in MS 78, however, begin in 1556 and end in 1600, indicating that the volume was not in regular use as a record-keeping book until after the Reformation was well underway in Ireland. The 1556 entry marks an obituary for Nicolayi Veston who is described as a 'curate of the Church' (fol. 83^{v}); and the latest date, 1600, is included in the following entry: 'John Bath / in Remembrance of the first daye of may 1600 / John Bath' (fol. 116^{v}). Other dates include 1558 (fol. 79^{r}), 1569 (fol. 107^{r}), and 1575 (fol. 79^{v}).[31]

The question must be raised concerning the apparent gap between the late fifteenth-century copying date and obituary entries which begin in 1556. Colker's identification of three added entries which predate 1500, based upon handwriting and the style of the script, may be helpful in determining where MS 78 was located soon after it was copied. The entries are for the feasts of Machutus, Audoen, and Magnanus, all of which have one element in common: they are associated with churches in the Dublin area. Machutus is associated with the church at Clondalkin, Magnanus with nearby Kilmainham, and Audoen with the Church of St Audoen, located within the Dublin city walls (less than 200 m west and slightly north of Christ Church Cathedral). Although MS 78 is clearly linked to Clondalkin during the second half of

[29] *AntS*, I, 81; Hawkes, 'The Liturgy in Dublin', 46; Colker, *Catalogue*, I, 122; Droste, 'The Musical Notation', p. 337. Cf. Senan Furlong in this volume.

[30] For a fuller discussion of the significance of the 1480s feasts in dating a manuscript, see Elizabeth A. Cain, 'English Chant Tradition of the Late Middle Ages' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1982), pp. 24–29. In applying the 1480s feasts to MS 78, see Brannon, 'A Contextual Study', pp. 166–67, 176–82.

[31] The complete texts of obituaries and other added entries are included in Colker's catalogue. See Colker, *Catalogue*, I, 122–24.

the sixteenth century,[32] the apparently early addition of feasts associated with Dublin churches indicates that the volume may have been used, or at least located, in the Dublin area soon after it was copied, possibly prior to *c.* 1500.[33]

It seems likely that MS 78 was designed for use at Kilkenny but was in use there for only a short time or, possibly, not at all before it was transferred to the Dublin area, probably Clondalkin. There the volume may have been used liturgically, or put into storage where it remained until it was used as a record book in the 1550s when, due to Edwardian reforms, it would have become liturgically obsolete. The effects of Henry VIII's Royal Act of Supremacy of 1534 are evident in the kalendar; references to the pope have been erased in the entries for Leo (28 June), Stephen (2 August), Kalixtus (14 October), Clemens (23 November), Linus (26 November), and Silvester (31 December). It is probable that the manuscript was owned by Englishmen or Anglo-Irish — most likely, Protestants — during this period since most of the added entries are in English with English surnames. The manuscript was eventually acquired by James Ussher, Protestant Primate of Armagh. Ussher, who began his primacy in 1625, left his library behind in Drogeda when he went to live in England in 1640. During the year following his departure, the collection was nearly destroyed when Irish rebels seized the town. The library was eventually sent to England and was moved several times. The manuscript came into the possession of the State of Ireland at the time of Ussher's death in 1656 and was donated (along with TCD MSS 77, 79, and 80) to Trinity College Dublin five years later. After this, Oliver Cromwell ordered that it be retained, and the volumes were stored for several years in Dublin Castle.[34]

[32] Clondalkin was a seventh-century Irish monastery associated with Machutus. In the early thirteenth century the church and its lands passed into the possession of the Archbishop of Dublin and became one of the largest manors under the authority of the see of Dublin; a manor house located on the property served as an occasional residence for the archbishop. The land served as a prebend for St Patrick's Cathedral during the late fifteenth century, and an area of the town known as the Bay Farm provided an income for the Vicars Choral of the cathedral. See Francis E. Ball, 'Parish of Clondalkin', in *A History of the County Dublin: The People, Parish and Antiquities from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, 6 vols (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1902–20), IV (1906), 107–24 (p. 111).

[33] Colker's dating of the entries is based upon handwriting and the style of script and must be regarded as approximate.

[34] See Hugh J. Lawlor, 'Primate Ussher's Library before 1641', *PRIA*, 3rd ser., 6 (1900), 216–64 (p. 262). Cf. also William O'Sullivan, 'Ussher as a Collector of Manuscripts', *Hermathena*, 88 (1956), 34–58, and Hawkes, 'The Liturgy in Dublin', 44–45. Concerning the later history of MS 78, a possible relationship may exist between Clondalkin and James Ussher. During the seventeenth century the principal residence in the vicinity of Clondalkin was occupied by

Conclusion

TCD MS 78, dating from the late fifteenth century, is clearly a Sarum manuscript and appears to have been copied for use at Kilkenny Cathedral, as evidenced by the Second Vespers antiphon for Canice, *Dulcescat filiis*, that references both Kilkenny and Ossory. The kalendar in the volume contains thirty-three Irish saints compared to thirty-seven English, with only two of the English saints featured as red-letter feasts compared to four Irish. The *Sanctorale* contains offices for Patrick and Brigit, as well as Canice. An analysis of the Office for Canice reveals that the texts for the patron saint of Kilkenny Cathedral were set in rhymed verse that reinforces the stories and biographical legends about the sixth-century abbot. The melodies for antiphons, invitatories, responsories, and verses appear to have been adapted and reworked from common melodic material; hymns seem to have been borrowed with few changes. Only a single chant melody, *Benedictus Dominus*, seems not to have been adapted from pre-existing chant.

Might the inclusion of so many Irish saints in a manuscript designed for use at an Anglo-Irish cathedral reveal something about the milieu in which the manuscript was perhaps copied and used? The construction of Kilkenny Cathedral, which still stands today, seems to have begun during the bishopric of Hugo de Rous, first Anglo-Norman bishop (1202–18).[35] Early twelfth-cen-

the Molyneux family, of French origin, who, according to records, played a prominent role in the English administration of Ireland. In 1613 the land was passed to Daniel Molyneux who married the daughter of Sir William Ussher, possibly related to James Ussher, Primate of Armagh and collector of manuscripts. Though the relationship between James Ussher and Daniel Molyneux is sketchy, it is certain that the two men were acquainted with one another; James Ussher made a comment about Molyneux in his writings, stating that he (Molyneux) was 'for learning and part a Daniel indeed' (Ball, 'Parish of Clondalkin', p. 114). A portion of James Ussher's collection included approximately twenty-four sixteenth-century heralds' books which had belonged at one time to the first three Ulster kings of arms: Bartholomew Butler, Nicholas Narbon, and Christopher Ussher, uncle of James. According to Ball, the collection supposedly passed from Christopher Ussher, who died in 1597, to James Ussher's library. Unexplained, however, is the presence in Ussher's collection of manuscripts written by the aforementioned Daniel Molyneux, who succeeded Christopher Ussher as the fourth Ulster king of arms. According to Ball, the papers may actually have been bequeathed to James Ussher at the death of Molyneux in 1632. If Molyneux was a collector himself, it is possible that he may have acquired MS 78 because of his connections in the Clondalkin area. The volume may have become part of the Ussher collection at the same time as the Molyneux papers and sixteenth-century herald's books were added to the Primate's library. For more information, see Ball, 'Parish of Clondalkin', pp. 111–15.

[35] Edwin C. Rae, 'Architecture and Sculpture, 1169–1603', in *A New History of Ireland*, II: *Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*, ed. by Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993),

tury building programmes such as Kilkenny Cathedral coincided with Anglo-Norman plans to have greater control over church affairs in Ireland. Conflict between Irish and Anglo-Norman churchmen is underscored by the actions of King John of England who, in 1215, sent an order to all Irish bishops indicating that no Irish should be admitted to a rank or position of authority in Irish cathedrals. Anglo-Norman-controlled monasteries in the Dublin area refused to allow native Irish even to enter their ranks, and Irish monasteries retaliated by refusing to accept Englishmen. In Kilkenny, after the appointment of de Rous as Bishop of Ossory, the position was never held by a native-born Irishman again.

By the mid-thirteenth century, Anglo-Normans were in control of nearly half of Ireland, but by the end of the century, the Irish had regained control of much of this area. Fourteenth-century records indicate that the Anglo-Normans were frequently under siege by the Irish, yet in Kilkenny as well as other parts of Ireland, there was much interaction and even intermarriage between the Irish and Anglo-Normans. By the early fifteenth century, English viceroys were allowing Irish clerics to enter sees, abbeys, and priories under English control because the close connection between prominent Irish and Anglo-Norman families made it impractical to exclude native Irishmen completely from positions in the church. In part because of this, a 1416 statute was passed that prohibited the issuance of further viceregal licenses to promote native Irish to ecclesiastical positions, with proscribed penalties for any bishop who failed to comply. By the late fifteenth century — at approximately the time MS 78 was copied — Kilkenny was an area that was at least nominally under English control, though it was well beyond the 'Pale', the area that ran approximately eighty kilometres to the north of Dublin and no more than twenty-five or thirty kilometres to the west. Thus it is conceivable that MS 78, with its many Irish saints and a noted Office for Canice, reflects a significant Irish influence, despite statutes prohibiting Irish ecclesiastical appointments and interaction between Irish and Anglo-Normans. While the source of the texts is not known at the present time, the melodies seem to have been adapted from the common Western chant vocabulary. This blending of Irish and Sarum elements in a single volume may serve as a reflection of Irish and Anglo-Norman relations in late medieval Kilkenny.

pp. 737–80 (p. 748). For a summary of the impact of the Anglo-Norman presence in Ireland, see in the same volume, F. X. Martin, 'Overlord Becomes Feudal Lord, 1172–85', pp. 98–126, and F. X. Martin, 'John, Lord of Ireland, 1185–1216', pp. 127–54. See also Brannon, 'A Contextual Study', pp. 19–28.

Offices of the Saints

Insular Sources: Scotland and Wales

Possible Irish Influences in the Office for St Kentigern, Patron Saint of Glasgow

Betty I. Knott

For many years Greta-Mary Hair and I were engaged in producing an edition of and commentaries on the Office for the double major feast of St Kentigern, patron saint of Glasgow, which falls on 13 January.[1] (Glasgow Cathedral is dedicated to St Kentigern or Mungo.) This Office is recorded in the Sprouston Breviary (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 18.2. 13B),[2] which is probably of Scottish provenance and is dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[3] This breviary is interesting as being notated

[1] See Greta-Mary Hair and Betty I. Knott, eds, *Vespers, Matins & Lauds for St Kentigern, Patron Saint of Glasgow*, Musica Scotica Editions of Early Scottish Music, 6 (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2011) [hereafter 'the Edition'].

[2] Although there are no entries for St Kentigern in the kalendars of the Sprouston or Herdmanston manuscripts (Herdmanston is Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 18.2. 13A), the rubrics which follow the Office in the Sprouston Breviary indicate that the feast is held on the same day as (and takes precedence over) the feasts of the octave of Epiphany and St Hilary, 13 January. These rubrics are now illegible to the naked eye, but thanks to Kenneth Dunn and Jeremy Smith of the National Library of Scotland, who arranged for the production of digital photographs of these folios, one is able to read them, although with difficulty. A number of late medieval kalendars, for example, the *Kalendarium de Arbuthnott* and the *Kalendarium Breviarii Aberdonensis*, do contain entries for St Kentigern on 13 January; see *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, ed. by Alexander Penrose Forbes (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), pp. 97 and 111.

[3] See Henry Mariott Bannister, 'Notes on the Herdmanston Breviary and the Sprouston Breviary (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MSS 18. 2. 13A and 18. 2. 13B)', letter to 'The Keeper, Advocates' Library' (24 October 1906), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland,

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Music, Liturgy, and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context, ed. by Ann Buckley, RITUS 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) pp. 223–230
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throughout. Dr Hair has edited the music and reconstructed the liturgy with commentary, and I have been responsible for editing and translating the Latin text, also with commentary.

The 'official' *Life of S. Kentigern* was written by Jocelin of Furness for the Bishop of Glasgow in the twelfth century. Jocelin records that one of the sources for his Life was a little Life of the saint written *stilo scottico*, a document perhaps not only written in Irish script but also with a fair sprinkling of the kind of odd words favoured by writers with Irish connections, especially as Jocelin censures it for being 'full of solecisms'. It will here be suggested that one of the elements contributing to or influencing the heterogeneous text of this Office of Kentigern is a source written in this kind of 'Irish' Latin, possibly that very Life of the saint, or an earlier Office based on it. Either of these could well have been composed by a person with actual Irish connections (perhaps from Iona) and associated with Glasgow Cathedral, though the whole Office in the form in which we have it does not seem to have been made for Glasgow.

Adv. MS 19. 1. 9; *A Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh*, comp. by Catherine R. Borland, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1906–08, handwritten), I: *Theology*, pp. 101–08, no. 14, Sprouston Breviary, pp. 109–12, no. 15; *AntS*, I, 81, no. XIX; *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica: A Descriptive Handlist of the Musical and Latin-Liturgical MSS of the Middle Ages Preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Walter H. Frere, 2 vols (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901–32; repr. Hildesheim: George Olms, 1967), II, 51–52, no. 683; *Catalogue of Scottish Liturgical Books and Fragments*, ed. by David McRoberts (Glasgow: John S. Burns, 1953), p. 6, no. 24; 'Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560', ed. by Stephen Mark Holmes, *The Innes Review*, 62.2 (2011), 127–212 (pp. 145–46). Bannister's dating to *c.* 1300 has been confirmed by Ian Doyle and Alan Piper (letter to Greta-Mary Hair, 20 November 1998), and in consultation with Scottish medieval historians Dauvit Broun and Simon Taylor. See also Broun's comment that the script of the main scribe of Sprouston 'is similar to the textualis media of Scribe 45 in the Chronicle of Melrose [...] datable to some time after 14 April 1286 and before (probably) May 1291' (Hair, 'Introduction I', in the Edition, pp. 24–25). Alan Henderson, PhD candidate at Edinburgh University, has recently drawn attention to the different liturgical categories cited for the Herdmanston manuscript, in 'Beyond the Cloister: The Office of St Cuthbert in the Herdmanston Breviary *[sic]* Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 18.2.13A, fols 139^{r}–241^{v}' (Paper read at the Scottish Medievalists' Conference, 9 January 2016). It appears as a breviary in Bannister's Letter, in Catherine Borland's handwritten *Catalogue*, and in the catalogues compiled by McRoberts and Holmes, but in *AntS* and *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica* it is listed as an antiphonal. Henderson observes that, since there are so few lections, and incipits alone for hymns, prayers, versicles, etc. across the manuscript, Herdmanston is more aptly referred to as an antiphonal. This is in agreement with Frere, and with the scholars who have cited it as such in the literature. For example, see Christopher Hohler's 'Sigla', in 'The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert', in *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, ed. by C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 157–91 (p. 160).

The text of the Office, like those for other saints, has clearly been put together from various sources. The nine lections for Matins seem to have been drawn from a lost Life of the saint which recounted his early life in the monastery ruled by St Serf at Culross on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth. This Life was apparently of eastern Scottish provenance and probably did not treat of the saint's later adventures in western Scotland and elsewhere.[4] The antiphons and responsories (all rhymed) are derived from a different tradition. Where they and the lections recount the same incident the details of the story vary, for example in the famous story of St Serf's pet robin, restored to life by the young saint. In the lection, the bird is accidentally killed by Kentigern himself; in the antiphons and responsories it is killed by his jealous fellow pupils, who then try to incriminate the innocent Kentigern.

Some incidents from the saint's early life are referred to more than once in the antiphons and responsories. The story of the resurrected monastery cook, for example, is mentioned three times (32R, 34A, and 60A),[5] besides the fuller prose version in Lections 7 and 8 (47 and 49); the divinely ignited twigs also appear three times (4RV, 30RV, and 33A), as well as in Lections 4 and 5 (37 and 39); and the resuscitated robin occurs twice (25A, 30R), as well as in Lection 3 (31). In these verse repetitions the actual wording is quite different. The repetitions not only dislocate any chronological sequence of events, but also cause an increasing disharmony between the contents of the lections and the surrounding antiphons and responsories. The impression one gets is that the whole thing has been put together from various sources without much concern for consistency or overall effect. Elements in the musical settings suggest the same thing.[6]

There is further evidence for the use of different sources in the considerable diversity of stanza structure and rhyme scheme throughout the whole Office. Most of the antiphons and responsories have either one or two four-line stanzas, but there are a few variants (six, seven, or ten lines, in 40R, 9A, 85A,

[4] Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, 'Sources for the Life of St Kentigern', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. by Nora Chadwick with Kathleen Hughes, Christopher Brooke, and Kenneth Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 237–57.

[5] The numbers throughout this article refer to chants and lections in the Edition: A = antiphon, R = responsory, RV = responsory verse.

[6] As a whole, the chants of the Office are not arranged in modal order, but the melodies of the first three antiphons and the first two responsories of Matins are in order, assigned to Modes 1, 2, and 3, and 1 and 2, respectively. This suggests that they may have been taken from a source which was composed, at least partially, in modal order.

respectively). The commonest metre is the fifteen-syllable line with trochaic pulse (divided into eight plus seven syllables, illustrated by Examples 1, 2, and 3 below), but we also find four-line, eight-syllable stanzas with trochaic pulse (as in Example 4, below) and four-line seven-syllable stanzas with iambic pulse (not exemplified here), plus a few stanzas which do not fit any of these patterns. These stanza forms are variously combined with a considerable range of rhyme schemes, not in themselves remarkable but contributing to the overall effect of variety. The different verse structures seem at first sight to be distributed haphazardly among antiphons, responsories, and responsory verses, but closer investigation reveals that some elements which share the same verse structure are also linked in subject matter and might well come from the same source: for example, a group of antiphons consisting of a stanza of four seven-syllable lines which cover events from Kentigern's early life (numbers 24, 25, 33, and 34).

The repetitions combined with the versification suggest the incorporation of elements or whole sections from at least two pre-existent offices. This certainly produces a lively, if disorganized, text.

This lively effect is reinforced by the unconventional vocabulary found in the antiphons and responsories. We find there Greek words, poetic and rare Latin words, otherwise unattested Latin words, and a generally extravagant style. Many of these individual words would not be particularly striking in isolation: it is the cumulative effect and overall impression that are remarkable. Some illustrative examples follow.

Example 1. Matins Responsory 7, fol. 37va (no. 48 in the Edition)

Aporia ingruente	As famine pressed hard, this generous man
vir largus diriguit,	went rigid with fear,
miro modo recreandus	but he was to be wondrously revived
ope qua in<di>guit,	with the resources which he needed,
cum hor<r>isonum avari	when the roaring river, licking up the mean
flumen lambens horrea,	king's barns,
classicaret sine rate	sailed them as a boatless fleet
ad eius mapalia.	down to Kentigern's huts.

Note here the Greek word *aporia*, the rarish poetic word *diriguit*, also poetic *horrisonus*, and *mapalia* in the sense of 'huts' in general. This last is a word taken from Vergil (and others) where it refers specifically to the boat-shaped huts of the Numidians in North Africa. It is the kind of word which would find its way into glossaries, those lists of interesting words from various sources that required some explanation or translation. Such lists were very popular, and the

words in them were thus made generally available as a means of stylistic adornment. *Mapalia* is glossed as 'shepherd's' huts.[7] Lastly, note *classicaret* (from *classicare*). This is not the classical Latin verb meaning 'to blow the trumpet', but an otherwise unattested word derived from *classis*, 'a fleet'. Kentigern had run out of supplies because of his generosity, and when he applied to the local (hostile) king for relief, he was refused; whereupon the river Clyde obligingly rose in flood, lifted the king's barns off their foundations, and 'boated' them along to Kentigern's settlement downstream.

Example 2. Matins Responsory 4, fol. 36vb (no. 38 in the edition)

Olim fete archam Dei	Milch-cows long ago, after Dagon had
vacce Dagon obruto	been thrown down, on a wagon
de Acharon ad Bethsames	conveyed the Ark of God from Ekron to
plaustrant sine scrupulo.	Beth-Shemesh, without any deviation.
Sic de Cernach functum tauri	Even so, bulls drew the dead man from
redant nullo previo,	Carnock on a cart with no one to lead the way,
qui in Glasgow funeratur	and he was buried in Glasgow
Kentegerni merito.	by the merit of Kentigern.

Noteworthy here are the two verbs *plaustrant* and *redant* (forms of *plaustrare*, *redare*), neologisms apparently derived from the nouns *plaustrum* and *reda*, two words for wheeled vehicles; also the rather forced meaning of *scrupulus*, usually 'anxiety'. The story, with echoes of 1 Samuel (Vulgate, 1 *Regum*), chapters 5 and 6, especially 6. 7–16), is that the body of the dead Fergus was placed on a cart yoked to two untamed oxen who were left to wander where they would. They drew the cart to Glasgow, where Fergus was buried and where Kentigern established his monastic settlement.[8] Incidentally it is the only direct mention of Glasgow in the Office, which suggests that this section may be derived from a Glasgow source.

[7] See *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. by Georg H. Goetz, 7 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888–1901), v, 221.

[8] See Jocelyn's Life in *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, ed. by Alexander Penrose Forbes, The Historians of Scotland, 5 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874), pp. 51 and 179.

Example 3. Matins Prosa following Responsory 9, Iubente Petrus, fol. 38ra–va (nos 52 and 53 in the Edition)

Gens Cambrina, cum regina,	People of Cambria, with your queen,
plaudite tripudio.	rejoice, in exultation leaping.
Vibex, fletus, dolor, metus	Weals and weeping, grief and fearing
et mortis condicio	and death impending
iam cassantur et purgantur	Now are obliterated, abrogated,
vitali remedio.	by a life-restoring remedy.
Limpha celat quod revelat	The water conceals what the fish reveals
ixtis here clanculo.	in secret to the lady.
Latet regem per quam legem	The king has no notion by what dispensation
di<t>etur cum anulo.	she receives the bounty of the ring.
Ensem tortor condit, <h>orror	His sword the torturer sheaths, her horror
sedatur pre gaudio.	subsides in rejoicing.
Laudes ergo Kentegerno	Therefore praises this company raises
decantat hec con[s]cio,	to Kentigern.
me<ch>am auro qui<i> reperto	The gold recovered, he delivered
traxit de ergastulo.	the adultress from the dungeon.

This *prosa* celebrates the discovery of the lost ring found in the mouth of a fish — a well-known motif from elsewhere; for example, the story of Polycrates from classical literature, and the tale of Finnabhair from Irish.[9] It is the most famous of Kentigern's miracles. The story concerns Queen Languoreth, wife of Rederech, King of Strathclyde, who had foolishly given to her lover a ring entrusted to her by her husband. The King discovered the ring on the person of the lover when he was asleep and threw it into the River Clyde. He then challenged his Queen to produce the ring, accusing her of adultery. In despair she applied to St Kentigern, who told the messenger to fish in the Clyde and bring to him the first fish he caught. Inside was the ring, which the Queen handed to the astounded King; the Queen was apparently proved innocent, and this *prosa* is a song of triumph on her vindication.

[9] See *Legends of Scottish Saints: Readings, Hymns and Prayers for the Commemorations of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*, ed. by Alan Maquarrie with Rachel Butter and contributions by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 372 and 401n.

It is particularly striking in vocabulary and style. See first the words *tripudio* ('in an exultant dance', not necessarily triple measure); the somewhat archaic *vibex* ('weals'); *cassantur* (from *cassare*), a word occurring once in classical Latin meaning 'to totter', and here apparently meaning 'are abolished'; *limpha*, a Greek word for 'water'; and *ixtis* 'fish', which is the Greek word (*ichthus*), with *x* representing Greek *chi*, as in the spelling *Xpistus* (regular in this document). Also note the internal rhymes and the persistent rhyme in *-o*, producing an insistent assonance of which the translation endeavours to give some impression. The whole thing gives an appropriate sense of wild triumph and is set to a very catchy melody.[10]

Example 4. Matins Antiphon 6, fol. 36vb (no. 35 in the Edition)

Stupet Ledonis alveus	The channel of the Ledon is amazed
Mallene ructans fluctibus	as it belches with the waves of the Mallena,
quod salebre divorcia	for the sundered walls of the passage,
in se grassant reciproca.	turning, wildly crash together.

[10] The melody for the prosa, *Gens Cambrina*, one of the most popular and widely disseminated tunes throughout Europe, is thought to have been originally composed by Isembert (monk of St Ouen's, Rouen) *c.* 1030 as the prosa *Sospitati dedit egros*, later to be included in the Office of St Nicholas composed by Reginald of Eichstätt *c.* 960 (*AntS*, IV, 360). For a discussion of the authorship, see Charles Jones, *The Saint Nicholas Liturgy and its Literary Relationships (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries)*, with an Essay on the Music by Gilbert Reaney, University of California English Studies, 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 64–89. It is also the melody for prosa texts within the offices for the Translation of St Thomas of Canterbury (Ely Breviary, London, British Library, Add. MS 28598, fol. 125^{v}; see Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 292–93); for St David, patron saint of Wales, *Panis arctus aqua brevis* (*National Library of Wales, MS 20541E: The Penpont Antiphonal*, with an introd. by Owain Tudor Edwards, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, 22 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), fols 184vb–185ra); within the Office of St Patrick, *Mente munda* (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 79, fols 160ra–162ra; also the CD recording, *Apostle of Ireland: An Office of St Patrick* [transcribed and edited by Ann Buckley], Medieval Irish Plainchant, *Canty*, directed by Rebecca Tavener, Divine Art (2008), CD DDA 25065); as well as for St Kentigern (see Example 3 with references, above, and *The Miracles of St Kentigern*, Scottish Medieval Plainchant, Cappella Nova, directed by Alan Tavener, ASV Gaudeamus (1997) CD GAU 169). The melody is also found as the tenor in the polyphonic sequence *Mater mitis vere vitis*, from fascicle 11 of MS W_1 (Martin Staehelin, *Die Mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift W_1 der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), fol. 212 / 195; and *Felix Femina*, 'Scottish Medieval Polyphony from MS Wolfenbüttel$_1$, fascicle 11', Canty, directed by Rebecca Tavener, Gaudeamus (2007), CD GAU 360).

This antiphon is particularly telling for the point being made here. It refers to Kentigern's crossing of the river, possibly the Forth, as he fled from Culross. The waters miraculously part for him so that he can cross over, but equally miraculously flow back again so that St Serf, who is following behind, can pursue him no further. The four lines are especially enigmatic, even if one knows the story, partly because of the unusual meanings given to the words *salebra* and *divorcia* (normally 'a rut', or 'an obstacle in the path', and 'a parting of the ways'). Note also the vivid use of *ructans*, 'belching'. Of especial interest, however, are the two words *Mallena* and *Ledon*. They are here taken by the writer to be the names of two rivers. Their real meaning, 'spring- and neap-tide', is revealed in a passage in the *Hisperica Famina* which describes the sea violently flooding the land.[11] The *Hisperica Famina* is a collection of strange texts of baffling Latinity, probably of seventh-century Irish origin, much studied in schools thereafter. (The two words passed into Bede with their proper meaning.)[12] It is interesting that this misinterpretation is shared with Jocelin's *Life of S. Kentigern*. This suggests that at some point in the tradition the two words were used in their proper sense in an account of Kentigern's crossing of the river, perhaps based on this very passage in the *Hisperica Famina*, but that in some later source they were misinterpreted. That same source was used both by Jocelin and by the composer of this antiphon.

The vocabulary of Latin written in an Irish context tends to be characterized by strange expressions, rare words, new coinages, and especially Hellenisms, just the kind of words which have been highlighted here. It is interesting that of the words noted in this text as striking in some way, at least twenty-two occur in the *Hisperica Famina*. As well as other glosses, lists of 'Hisperic' words were in circulation, and an interest in these exotic vocabulary elements lasted into the eleventh century.

[11] See *Hisperica Famina, English and Latin I: The A Text*, ed. by Michael W. Herren, Studies & Texts, 31 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), pp. 410–11.

[12] Bede, 'De aestu oceani', in *De natura rerum*, XXXVIII, 224–25, in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, I: *Opera didascalica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 123A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), pp. 224–25: '(oceani) omnis cursus in ledonas et malinas, id est in minores aestus dividitur et maiores' ('the whole flow (of the ocean) is divided into *ledones* and *malinae*'), i.e. lesser and greater tides.

Why St Andrew? Why Not St Columba as Patron Saint of Scotland?

Greta-Mary Hair

St Patrick, who is thought to have been born in Scotland, became the national patron saint of Ireland. St Columba, highly venerated throughout Scotland, was born and educated in Ireland. How did it happen that St Andrew, and not the local saint, Columba, was chosen as the patron saint of Scotland?

Although the cult of St Andrew is not of national significance in Ireland, a study of the development of the cult of a saint — and of this apostolic saint in particular — is especially interesting in relation to the political and ecclesiastical state of the Scottish nation during the later Middle Ages; and moreover also in view of the veneration of St Andrew for similar reasons in other cities throughout Europe, namely, to avoid being under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a far distant or foreign archbishop. Such an arrangement left a nation vulnerable and open to invasion by the foreign secular power.

To respond to this question one may look to the interdependent nature of ecclesiastical and national politics in Scotland in particular from the tenth to twelfth centuries, but also perhaps even stretching back to the Synod of Whitby of 663/64 that was presided over by Wilfred of York and Hexham. The synod was attended by Scottish clergy who there accepted allegiance to Roman ecclesiastical authority and an adherence to Roman customs. Thereafter, a cult of St Peter emerged throughout Scotland, probably encouraged in particular by

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King Nechtan (700–24). This in turn was followed by the cult of St Andrew, similarly encouraged by King Oengus (729–61).[1]

The prestige and political advantage attached to a church in possession of the relics of an apostle can scarcely be overestimated. At an early stage the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople had already acquired the relics of Luke and Timothy.[2] However, as Ritva Jacobsson notes, Paulinus, fifth-century Bishop of Nola, wrote in his *Carmina* 19 of the necessity for Constantinople to acquire 'the relics of an apostle in order to sustain comparisons to Rome' since it was impossible to obtain the relics of St Peter or St Paul, which were already in Rome.[3] In the year 357, the Byzantine Emperor Constantius had organized the removal of the relics of St Andrew from Patras to his Church of the Apostles in Constantinople.[4] This church was built to be the prestigious and exclusive burial place of emperors, beginning with the burial of his father, Emperor Constantine.[5] Why the relics of St Andrew? Was it because Andrew, first-called of the disciples (based on John 1. 35–39) was also the brother of Simon Peter (Matt. 4. 18–20) and the one who had first led Peter, who became chief among the Apostles, to Jesus (John 1. 41–42)?

Francis Dvornik shows that the unique Petrine primacy of the apostolic see of Rome was acknowledged and accepted by the patriarchs and churches in the East.[6] He then argues that the ambitions of later Eastern ecclesiastics contributed to the schism which resulted in the Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic division in medieval Christendom in 1054. An apostolic see came to be understood as one which had been evangelized by an apostle and whose bishopric was also an apostolic foundation. According to these criteria the see of Constantinople was ineligible. But around the end of the eighth century, a legend emerged that St Andrew had ordained Stachys as first Bishop of Constantinople. A catalogue of successive bishops was also produced to fill the

[1] Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992), p. 36.

[2] Francis Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Origins of the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 150–51.

[3] Ritva Jacobsson, 'The Antiphoner of Compiègne: Paris BNF lat. 17436', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 147–78 (p. 157).

[4] Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* (St Andrews: St Andrews University Library, 1994), p. 27.

[5] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 139.

[6] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 164.

gap between Stachys and the fourth-century bishop, Metrophanes (306–14). This was circulating throughout Byzantium by the mid-ninth century.[7] Thus a problem of the apparent equality of the 'New Rome' with the apostolic see of 'Old Rome' became imminent for the papacy. In addition, as early as the fifth century, Bishops of Constantinople, beginning with St John Chrysostom, were also buried in the Church of the Apostles which originally had been intended as the traditional and exclusive burial place for the emperors.[8]

Dvornik also relates the fictional tale told by the ninth-century historian Agnellus. The sixth-century Bishop Maximian of Ravenna negotiates with the Emperor for the translation of the body of St Andrew from Constantinople to his Church of St Andrew in Ravenna. But 'the emperor thought it fitting for the New Rome to own the relics of St Peter's brother, since Old Rome and New Rome were sisters, and Peter and Andrew were brothers'. According to the story, Maximian managed to acquire the beard of St Andrew:

> In closing his fictitious narrative, Agnellus exclaims with an almost audible sigh, 'and believe me, my brothers, if the body of the blessed Andrew, the brother of Peter the Princeps, had been buried here [in Ravenna], the Roman pontiffs would never have subjugated us'.[9]

Brescia, Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna claimed to have similar relics to those of Constantinople, including relics of St Andrew.[10] Greece, Scotland, and, much later, Russia chose Andrew as their national patron saint. In Hungary also, the cult of St Andrew was widespread.

These examples, and the Ravenna story in particular, demonstrate how Andrean relics were universally valued and how assiduously they were sought after, not least for the bargaining power which the relics of the apostolic brother of Peter were expected to carry, for example, in an argument for ecclesiastical independence from obedience to a far-distant, or foreign, episcopal jurisdiction.

Such was the situation in Scotland in 1072 when the independence of the Scottish Church and the political status of the Scottish kingdom were seriously challenged by the metropolitan of York, who claimed jurisdiction over Scotland. This claim was maintained throughout the twelfth century. The papal letter to Scottish bishops by Pope Paschal II dated *c.* 1100 states that Scottish ecclesial allegiance is to the Archbishop of York. Dauvit Broun has shown that in this

[7] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 180.

[8] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 154–55.

[9] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 151–52.

[10] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 150–51.

threatening situation, Version A of the foundation-legend of St Andrews was likely to have been composed at the instigation of Bishop Giric (1093–1107?) to justify archiepiscopal status for St Andrews, and in so doing, attempt to preserve the independence of the Scottish Church.[11] Although St Andrews did not become an archbishopric until 1472, the Bishop of St Andrews was known as 'High Bishop of the Scots',[12] and in the pontificate of either Popes Clement III or Celestine III a papal bull of 1189 (or 1192?) declared the Scottish Church to be 'Special Daughter' of Rome, answerable directly to the pope.[13] In this way, the Scottish Church gained papal protection, and obedience to an English metropolitan was avoided.

In adopting the Apostle Andrew as the nation's patron saint (notably more powerful than England's St George), in referring to the city of St Andrews as the 'Second Rome' and to its bishop as 'archbishop',[14] and in emulating the behaviour of the Byzantines, insofar as that was possible, St Andrews, unlike Constantinople, was far from becoming a threat to the Petrine primacy of the Roman see. Michael Lynch points to (1) the four kings named Constantine between 789 and 997; (2) the surviving carved artifacts, such as the St Andrews Sarcophagus discovered in 1883; and (3) the emergence of the legend of the fourth-century St Regulus, who was commanded by an angel to go to Patras and take relics of St Andrew to Scotland.[15] It has been suggested that, if the city of St Andrews had possessed genuine relics of St Andrew, they had probably come from the monastery in Hexham, which was founded by St Wilfred and dedicated to St Andrew. Wilfred's successor, Acca, had fled from Hexham after having fallen from favour with the local king. He may have come to Scotland and brought relics with him.[16] But the legend of St Regulus reinforces the idea

[11] Dauvit Broun, 'The Church of St Andrew and its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century: Recovering the Full Text of Version A of the Foundation Legend', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson*, ed. by Simon Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 108–14 (pp. 112–13).

[12] Broun, 'The Church of St Andrew', p. 112; see also 'The Augustinian's Account', in 'The St Andrews Foundation Account B and the Augustinian's Account', in *The Place-Names of Fife*, III: *St Andrews and the East Neuk*, ed. by Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), appendix I, pp. 564–615.

[13] Dauvit Broun, 'The Welsh Identity in the Kingdom of Strathclyde, *c*. 900–1200', *The Innes Review*, 55 (2004), 164–67.

[14] Broun, 'The Church of St Andrew', pp. 110–11.

[15] Lynch, *Scotland*, pp. 24, 36–37.

[16] William F. Skene, 'Notice of the Early Ecclesiastical Settlement at St Andrews', *Proceedings of the Scottish Archaeological Society*, 4 (1863), 300–21 (pp. 312–15).

that the apostolic relics came to Scotland in the early Christian era by divine command — and from Greece, not from England. Lynch also writes of the early cult of twin national saints — Columba and Andrew — and of the developing relationship between sovereign and church dating from the eighth century, which was not dissimilar to the priestly image of kingship embodied in the Byzantine *basileia*, a relationship which would 'lay the foundations for the sons of Malcolm and Margaret in the twelfth century'.[17] In all this, the actions of Scottish kings and bishops would convey a message which would be understood as an affirmation of allegiance to Rome and adherence to Roman customs and traditions rather than to the more ancient traditions and customs of the Irish Church as represented by St Columba.

So, why is St Andrew and not St Columba the patron saint of Scotland? Perhaps we should ask another question: if St Columba had been the nation's patron saint, would Scotland have achieved the status of 'Special Daughter' and, along with it, the degree of ecclesiastical and even political autonomy that such papal protection afforded? The decision concerning Scotland's patron saint appears to have been politically astute, and the outcome for Scotland in the twelfth century especially lucky.

The emphasis in this chapter has been on the relevant political aspects involved in the development of the cult of Scotland's patron saint: circumstances which, probably of necessity, brought about a shift from an obvious candidate, the Irish saint Columba, to a choice of St Andrew, whose credentials even exceeded the required apostolic status, being also the first-called of the disciples, the brother of Simon Peter, and the one who had introduced his brother, Peter, to Jesus.

As a postscript, readers may wish to be directed to the extraordinary manner in which St Andrew is venerated in the prose Office as recorded in the Sprouston Breviary[18] and in many other sources. Texts concerning the cost of

[17] See note 15, above.

[18] See Greta-Mary Hair and Betty I. Knott, 'The Office of St Andrew, Patron Saint of Scotland', in *'Notis musycall': Essays on Scottish Music and Culture in Honour of Kenneth Elliott*, ed. by Gordon Munro and others (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2005), pp. 17–94. See also under 'The theology communicated through the medium of the Office', in Greta-Mary Hair, 'Aspects of the Office of St Andrew, Patron Saint of Scotland from the Sprouston Breviary: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Adv. 18. 2. 13B, fols 194^{r}–96^{v}, *c*. 1300', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 35 (2005), 1–27 (pp. 4–7). Other suggestions for further reading are (1) the interesting article by Ian Campbell on the planning of the burgh of St Andrews compared with that of Compostela, which resembles the approach to the ninth-century Vaticam Borgo; see Ian Campbell, 'Planning for Pilgrims: St Andrews as the Second Rome', *The Innes*

discipleship, of martyrdom, of the veneration of the Cross and the mystery and doctrine of the Eucharist are selected and arranged by the compiler liturgist(s) in a skilful, almost didactic manner, yet in a moving, even poetic style. In a number of the chants, the composer's use of the semitone gives an expressive edge to martyrdom and crucifixion as experienced via the musical artefact.

Review, 64 (2013), 1–22; (2) the section in Broun, 'The Welsh Identity', pp. 146–55, in which he describes other examples of 'exempt' dioceses in Europe which, like Glasgow, St Andrews, and all Scottish dioceses, became exempt from archiepiscopal jurisdiction.

Reconstructing First Vespers for the Feast of St Brendan, Abbot of Clonfert, from the Common Office of a Confessor Abbot, According to the Sarum Rite

Ciaran O'Driscoll

Introduction

St Brendan, Abbot of Clonfert, Co. Galway (*c*. 486–*c*. 577), belongs to the period in the sixth and seventh centuries during which Irish monks travelled widely and established monasteries in far-distant lands. According to the Annals of Ulster, the year of his death is 577 or 583,[1] after which his cult was disseminated most successfully throughout Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany. Evidence of this legacy is apparent in the dedications of many churches, towns, and islands, and entries for his feast (normally 16 May) are found in liturgical kalendars across Ireland and Scotland.[2]

[1] *Annála Uladh. Annals of Ulster: Otherwise, Annala Senait, Annals of Senat: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from AD 431 to AD 1540*, ed. by William M. Hennessy (I) and Bartholomew McCarthy (II–IV), 4 vols (Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1887–1901; repr. 1999), I, 67 and n. 5, and p. 69.

[2] James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929; repr. Dublin: Pádraig Ó Táilliúir, 1979), pp. 406–20; David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 64; Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), pp. 115–17; *Legends of Scottish Saints: Readings, Hymns and Prayers for the Commemorations of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*, ed. by Alan Maquarrie with Rachel Butter and contributions by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), p. xlvi. In *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, ed. by Alexander Penrose Forbes (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), there are entries of various dates for St Brendan's feast: 15 May, Celtic Kalendar (p. 85);

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BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.RITUS-EB.5.111074

Figure 13.1.
Service times for the Divine Office.

Monastic life in the Middle Ages was centred around the chanting of the Divine Office in the hours of prayer: the sanctification of specific parts of the day, in which a monk ceases whatever he is doing and celebrates in a communal service. The service times are not fixed but based more on the natural rhythms of light and dark (see Figure 13.1). A typical day includes Matins and Lauds before dawn, the 'little hours' of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None throughout the day, Vespers before dusk, and Compline before retiring.

In the liturgical classification of saints, St Brendan is placed in the category of Confessor Abbot, and because no complete Office with proper chants and lections survives, his feast is celebrated using an older Common Office for a Confessor Abbot.[3] Later offices for saints' feasts with proper chants and readings, composed from the tenth century onwards, were often written in rhymed verse. The *Vita* or Life of the saint was frequently commissioned at an earlier stage and used as a source for the proper chant and lection texts. One of the few proper texts to survive for St Brendan is an eleventh-century Latin hymn

16 May, Drummond Kalendar (p. 13), Adam King Kalendar (p. 152), *Menologium Scoticum* (p. 199), Kalendar of David Cameron (p. 237); 17 May, Arbuthnott Kalendar (p. 100), Aberdeen Breviary Kalendar (p. 116), Martyrology of Aberdeen (p. 131).

[3] *BrevS* II cols 426–31.

Iam Brendani by Guido of Ivrea (d. *c*. 965), which could be substituted for *Iesu redemptor omnium* and sung to the same melody in the Office of Lauds.[4]

Iam Brendani sanctos mores	Let the brothers and sisters now sing
Canant fratres et sorores	Of the holy life of Brendan;
Sub concordi cantilena	In an old melody
Sibi serviat camena	Let it be kept in song.
Pater fuit monachorum,	Loving the jewel of chastity,
Castitatis amans thorum	He was the father of monastics.
Huius mundi sprevit chorum,	He shunned the choir of the world;
Nunc collega supernorum	Now he sings among the angels.
Is imploret nos salvari	Let him pray that we may be saved
Naufragantes in hoc mari,	As we sail upon this sea.
Ferat opem cito lapsis	Let him quickly aid the fallen
Pressis mole gravis fascis.	Oppressed with burdensome sin.
Rex supremus, Deus pater,	God the Father; Most High King
Quem lactavit virgo mater,	Breast-fed by a virgin mother;
Sancti flaminis cum velle	Holy Spirit: when They will it,
Nos divino pascant melle.	Let Them feed us divine honey.

In relation to the liturgy, there are varying versions of the status of his feast. There are no entries for the feast in the modern Roman kalendar nor in the most recent *Antiphonale Monasticum*.[5] In a number of Pre-Reformation Irish kalendars the date is 16 May.

[4] *AH*, XLVIII, no. 88. See Karen Rae Keck, 'A Hymn to Saint Brendan the Navigator', in *Medieval Hymnography for Saint Brendan the Navigator*, II (The St Pachomius Orthodox Library, St Cyril of Jerusalem: Jerusalem, 2001), <http://www.voskrese.info/spl/brendan.html> [accessed 11 February 2010]. The translation is Keck's. Since this chapter was completed, Ann Buckley has drawn my attention to two other sources containing proper materials for St Brendan: three noted antiphons in a fragmentary manuscript of possibly insular origin, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, MS II.3827, fol. 124^{r} (early 13th c.); see David Hiley, *Chants in Honour of St Birinus of Wessex and St Brendan the Navigator*, PMMS Occasional series, no. 3 (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 2001); and proper Mass prayers found at the end of the *Life of St Brendan* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS 2333A (13th or 14th c.).

[5] *Antiphonale Monasticum I*, or *Liber Antiphonarius pro Diurnis Horis I: De Tempore* (Solesmes: St Peter's Abbey, 2005), p. xxvi.

Some manuscripts prescribe three lessons in a choral service for the feast of St Brendan, whereas in others, especially where a church is dedicated to the saint, St Brendan's Day is a double feast with nine lessons.[6] In the latter case there are two separate Vespers, the first taking place at twilight on the vigil or eve of the feast. In this context, in addition to the proper hymn cited above, there are six proper lections for Matins extant recorded in the Aberdeen Breviary (1510),[7] which contains offices for many Irish saints.

Sarum Use, modelled on the Roman tradition, developed as a local use for Salisbury Cathedral. It circulated widely, and in the latter part of the twelfth century was established with minor modifications in many secular cathedrals and parish and collegiate churches throughout Britain and Ireland. Its music did not appear in surviving manuscripts until the early part of the thirteenth century. The facsimile edition of three complementary manuscripts and an early printed source published in the *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* is well known. It is possible to reassemble almost all the elements known to have been contained in this medieval Office for the feast of St Brendan according to Sarum Use by selecting the music for the Office of a Confessor Abbot from *AntS*[8] and consulting and, where necessary, transcribing relevant texts — such as the six proper lections from the Aberdeen Breviary together with the complementary lections, seven to nine, from Common of a Confessor Bishop in the *Breviarium*[9] — and additional information from Frere's two-volume *Use of Sarum*.[10] In this paper, I will describe the process of reconstructing the Office of First Vespers.

Reconstructing First Vespers

For the sake of convenience, Vespers can be said to contain nine main items, as follows:

1. *Opening Versicle*
2. ANTIPHON and PSALMS
3. Chapter

[6] See the instructions given in the rubrics for the feast in *Legends of Scottish Saints*, ed. by Maquarrie, pp. 124 and 125, and in 'Notes', pp. 332–34.

[7] For these proper lections with translations, see *Legends of Scottish Saints*, ed. by Maquarrie, pp. 122–25, reproduced in the Appendix to this article.

[8] *AntS*, vols I, II, and VI.

[9] For the Common Office of a Confessor Abbot, the 'relevant texts' are found in *BrevS*, II, cols 426–31. However, the rubrics for Matins on col. 429 direct one to material for a Confessor Bishop, where lections seven to nine are found in cols 417–19.

[10] Frere, *Use of Sarum*.

4. *Responsory*
5. HYMN
6. *Versicle*
7. ANTIPHON and CANTICLE (Magnificat)
8. Prayer
9. *Blessing*

This is a skeletal outline. For example, five psalms are chanted at Vespers in a secular institution. A medieval cantor would know which psalms were involved, in which liturgical book they were found, and which psalm-tone should be used for chanting them. The antiphon is sung both before and after the set of five psalms, but there is no cue in the manuscript to indicate the closing antiphon. The *Gloria Patri* is sung at the end of the fifth and last psalm (before the closing

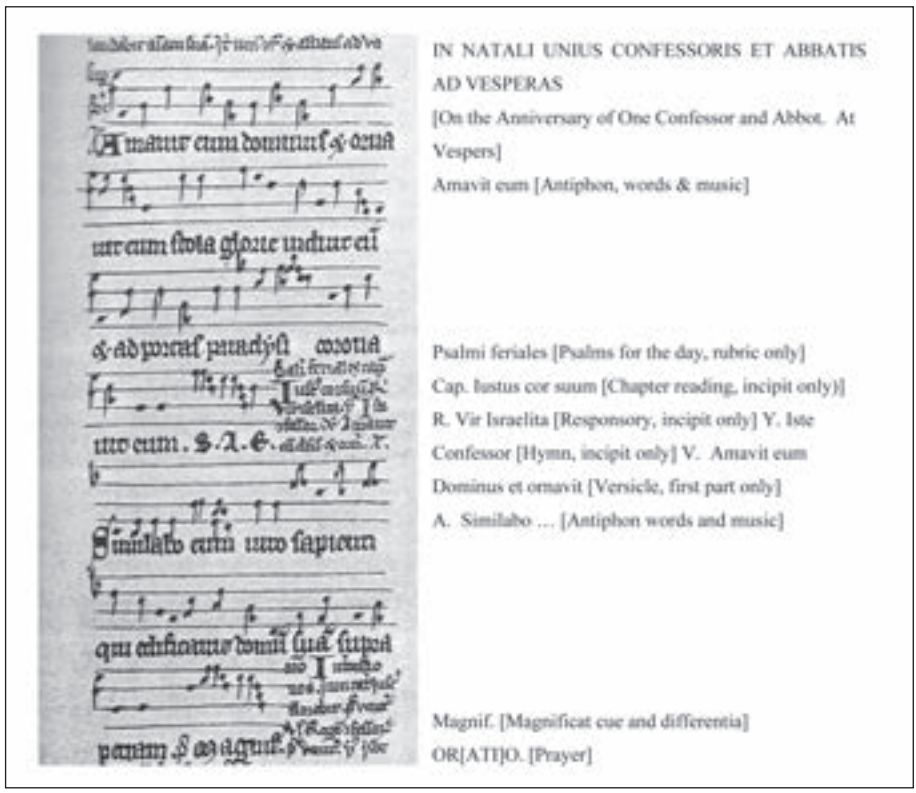


Figure 13.2. First Vespers for a Confessor Abbot, *AntS*, VI, 657a.

Table 13.1. Synopsis of First Vespers.

Abbreviations: *AntS* = *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*; *BrevS* = *Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*; Frere = Walter H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, 2 vols; *Grove* VI (1954) = Walter H. Frere, 'Psalmody', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music & Musicians*, 5th edn (1954), VI, 954a; MS S = The Sprouston Breviary, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.2.13B

Chant	**Text**	**Source**
Our Father, Ave Maria, Creed		
VERSICLE Psalm lxix: i	Deus in adjutorium	Text & Tone: *AntS*, II, 1a
Response	Domine in adjuvandum	
Gloria	Gloria Patri	
Alleluia	Alleluia	Text & Tone: *AntS*, II, 1a
ANTIPHON	Amavit eum Dominus	*BrevS*, II, 428, Chant: *AntS*, VI, 657a
PSALMS OF THE DAY		
Day 3 [Tuesday], Psalm cxxi	Laetatus sum	Text: *BrevS*, II, 199–201; Tone, *Grove* VI (1954), 954a
Psalm cxxii	Ad te levavi	
Psalm cxxiii	Nisi quia Dominus	
Psalm cxxiv	Quia confidunt in Domino	
Psalm cxxv	In convertendo Dominus	
Gloria Patri		
Antiphon (editorial repeat)	Amavit eum Dominus	
CHAPTER	Justus cor suum	Text: *BrevS*, II, 428; Tone: *AntS*, II, 2a
Response	Deo gratias	Text & Tone: *AntS*, II, 2a
RESPONSORY	Vir Israelita (incipit only, complete in Matins, Resp. 3)	Text: *BrevS*, II, 428; Chant, *AntS*, VI, 657a

Verse	Ut precibus	*AntS*, VI, 657b
Responsory refrain (last line)	Intercede pro nobis.	
Gloria	Gloria Patri	
Closing Responsory (last line)	Intercede pro nobis.	
HYMN	Iste confessor	Text: *BrevS*, II, 410; Chant: MS S, fol. 334[ra]
VERSICLE	Amavit eum	Text: *BrevS*, II, 410; Tone: *AntS*, VI, *b.* b. (for 'Rorate celi')
Response	Stola gloriae	
ANTIPHON Ad Magnificat	Similabo eum	Text: *BrevS*, II, 428; Chant: *AntS*, VI, 657a
MAGNIFICAT CANTICLE	Magnificat and Gloria Patri	Text: *BrevS*, II, 221; Tone: Frere, II, 'Tonale', p. lxvii
Antiphon (editorial repeat)	Similabo eum ...	
Let us Pray	Oremus.	Tone: *AntS*, VI, 3b
Prayer	Omnipotens sempiterne ...	Text: *BrevS*, VI, 410b
Amen.		
Memorials		
Greeting: The Lord be with you.	Dominus vobiscum.	Text & Tone: *AntS*, II, 8a
And also with you.	Et cum Spiritu two.	
Blessing i: Let us bless the Lord.	Benedicamus Domino.	Text: *BrevS*, III, 986;
Thanks be to God.	Deo Gratias.	Tone: *AntS*, II, 5a
Blessing ii (plain melody)	Benedicamus Domino.	Text & Chant: Frere, I, 275a
Thanks be to God.	Deo Gratias.	

antiphon) and at the end of the Magnificat canticle which, like the psalms and their tones, are to be found elsewhere.

In the *AntS* itself, less than a column is devoted to the Office of First Vespers. Many rubrics and items are abbreviated, and the cantor was expected to know where to find such items elsewhere in the manuscript or in other, complementary sources (see Figure 13.2).

Some chants for the feast are common to other, similar offices for saints, for example, confessor bishop and confessor doctor. A chant common to another feast may appear complete in one feast and abbreviated in another, so one must search around the manuscript and the printed indexes provided and, guided by the *Breviarum ad usum Sarum*, move back and forth between manuscripts and printed sources.

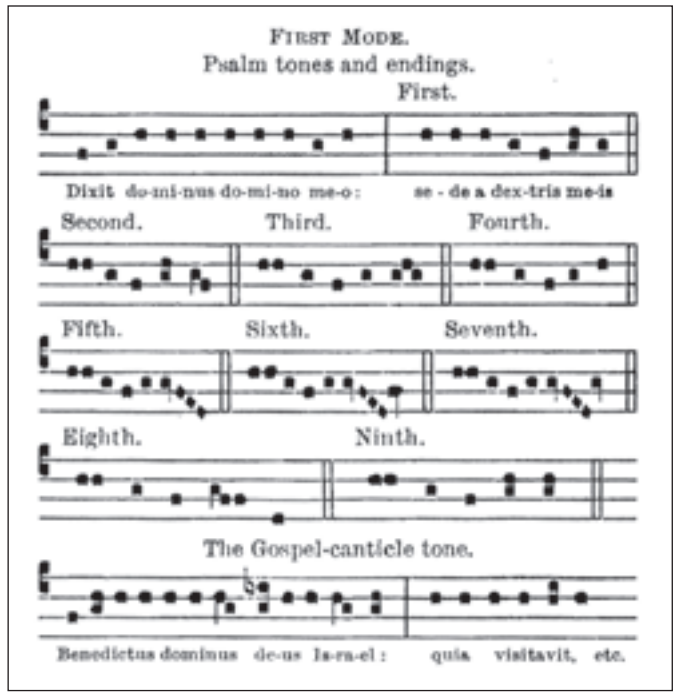
The very first Office in a manuscript with music — usually the Office for the First Sunday in Advent — often contains and/or indicates most of the items that are common to all feasts in each of the Office hours including, for example, the opening versicle *Deus in adjutorium*, the *Alleluia* which may follow it, tones for chapters and versicles, and the closing prayers, memorials, and versicles. Even though texts and music will vary from feast to feast, this format functions as a template for the layout and performance of other offices. The Office of St Andrew, which usually heads the *Sanctorale*, is also regarded as a model which one may follow for reconstructing other saints' offices. The *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* are said privately before each Office. The synopsis in Table 13.1 demonstrates an enlarged collection of items contained in this Office with their sources.

For the ferial psalms, one refers to Procter and Wordsworth's *Breviarium*, volume II, columns 191–219, where the psalm texts for each day of the week are given in full. Psalms 109–47 are assigned to First Vespers across the weekly cycle, from Sunday to Saturday. If 16 May falls on a Wednesday, the five psalms for First Vespers on the Tuesday (*Feria Tercia*) will begin with Psalm 121, *Laetatus sum*, followed by *Ad te levavi*, *Nisi quia Dominus*, *Qui confidunt in Domino*, and *In convertendo Dominus*.[11]

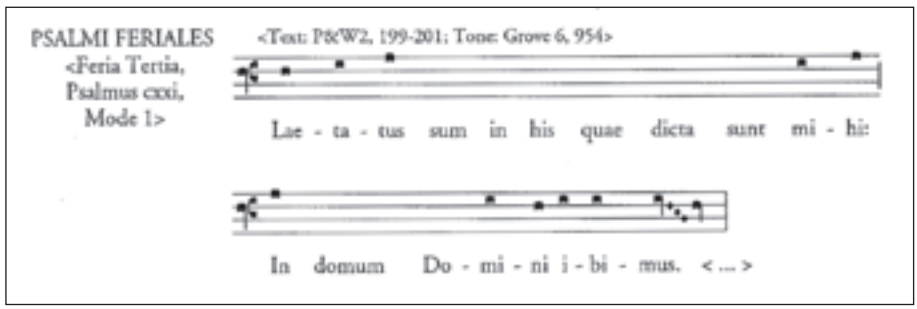
The Psalms for the day and the Magnificat canticle are sung to their respective tones. These are normally found in the tonary. As there is no tonary in the *AntS*, I have consulted the psalm and canticle tones transcribed by Frere from a Sarum tonary.[12] It is from the *differentia* or *seculorum amen* psalm-tone end-

[11] See *BrevS*, II, cols 199–201.

[12] Walter Howard Frere, 'Psalmody', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edn, 6 vols (London: Macmillan, 1954), VI, 953–57, transcriptions, pp. 954a–55b.



Music Example 13.1. Mode 1 Psalm Tone, *Differentiae* (endings) and Canticle Tone. Walter Howard Frere, 'Psalmody', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edn, vol. VI (London: Macmillan, 1954), transcriptions, p. 954a.



Music Example 13.2. Verse 1 of the first of the five Vespers psalms for Tuesday, set to the Mode 1 psalm tone. Frere, 'Tone', in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edn, VI, 954.

ing (often abbreviated as *euouae*) given in a manuscript after an antiphon that one can identify the mode to which an antiphon melody is assigned. In the Facsimile (see Figure 13.2, line 4), it is written after the antiphon *Amavit eum*, abbreviated as *s.a.e.* The accompanying melodic fragment matches the sixth ending for Mode 1 in Frere's transcription (see Music Example 13.1); therefore the antiphon melody is assigned to Mode 1.

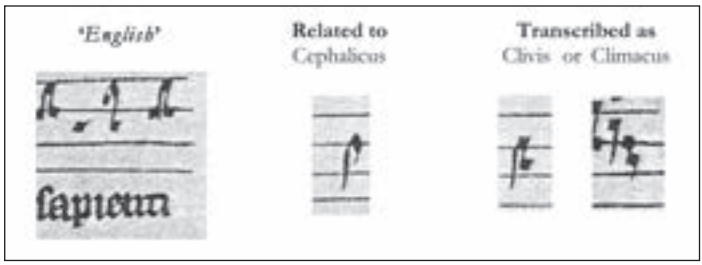


Figure 13.3. Liquescent Neumes, *AntS*, VI, 657a.

It follows that the psalm verses will be sung to the Mode 1 psalm tone with the verse termination given in the manuscript, that is, the sixth ending in Frere's transcription. This *differentia* is to be sung at the end of each psalm verse and *Gloria Patri* verse (Music Example 13.2).

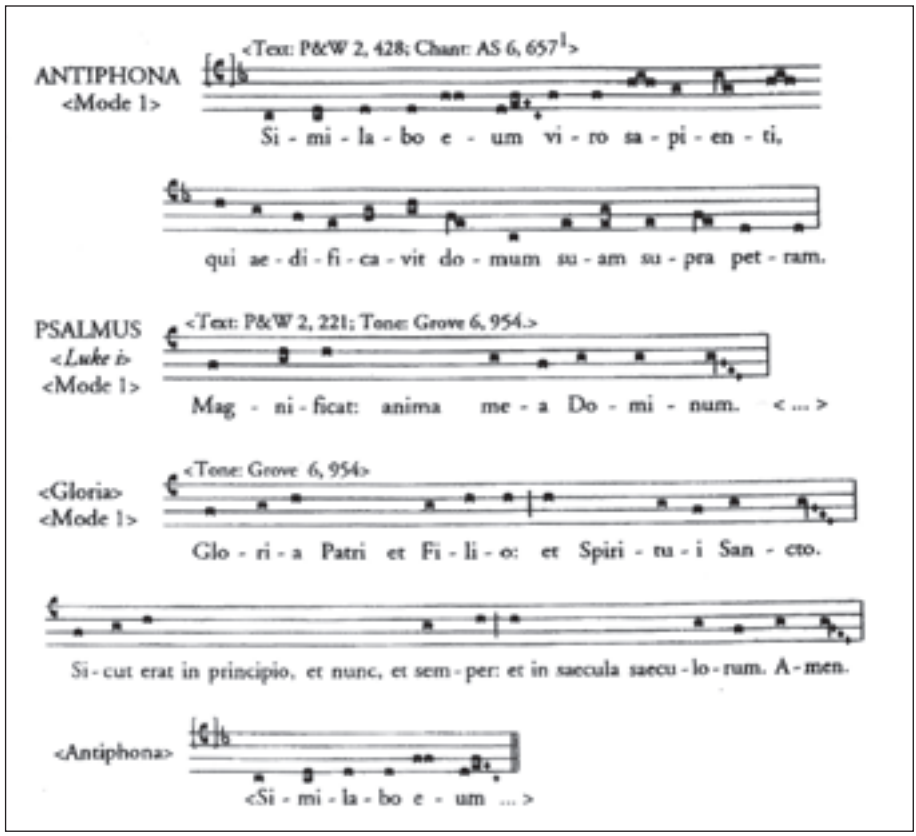
The Magnificat canticle is sung to a more elaborate tone, but the various endings are the same as the psalm-tone *differentiae*. The *differentia* given after the Magnificat antiphon, *Similabo eum*, is also identified as a Mode 1 *differentia*, this time with the fifth ending. The *Gloria Patri* is sung to the same canticle tone, and the repetition of the antiphon, which was customary, completes each antiphon/canticle, or antiphon/psalm, chant (Music Example 13.3).

In the writing of the melody of *Similabo eum*, the neumes used include the rather graceful 'English liquescent' neume (see the two-note, descending neume sung to '*sapi*-en-*ti*' in Figure 13.3). It is related to the *cephalicus*, but it has a definite second member, unusual because it is normally the second member that appears to be indefinite.[13]

The interpretation is somewhat problematic, and in later manuscripts it is regularly replaced by a *clivis* or *climacus*, thereby losing its liquescent character. Another peculiar neume is the 'S-neume', related to the standard *epiphonus* (made of two strokes) with an additional member added at the top of the second stroke. Like the 'English liquescent', it is clear that this final member suggests a lengthening. In my unpublished edition I have transcribed it as a *podatus*, in agreement with the neume employed for the same notes by scribes in later sources.[14]

[13] For descriptions of liquescence, including the 'S' neume, see John Bergsagel, 'An English Liquescent Neume', in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. by J. Westrup (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 94–99, and Diane Droste, 'The Musical Notation and Transmission of the Music of the Sarum Use, 1225–1500' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983); see *Canadian Theses on Microfiche*, 59826 (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1984), p. 72.

[14] Ciaran O'Driscoll, 'The Divine Office for the Feast of Saint Brendan of Clonfert According to the Sarum Rite' (unpublished B.Mus. Editions Project, University of Glasgow, 2001), p. 5.



Music Example 13.3. Antiphon to the Magnificat with the first two verses of the Magnificat and the *Gloria Patri*. For *Similabo*, see *AntS*, VI, 657; for the Canticle Tone, see Frere, 'Tonale', in *Use of Sarum*, II, p. lxvii.

The reading *Justus cor suum*, is a short verse from Ecclesiasticus 39. 6. This verse and its response, *Deo gratias*, are chanted to the chapter tone and noted response given in First Vespers for Advent Sunday (*AntS*, II, 2a). The following responsory, *Vir Israelita*, is indicated in the manuscript only by its text incipit and is found, fully noted, as Responsory 3 for the first nocturn of Matins for the same feast. It contains the opening verse of the *Gloria Patri*, often sung in Responsories 3, 6, and 9 of Matins. Another common feature shared by responsories in general is the shortened respond sung as a refrain after the verse and *Gloria Patri*, in this case the last line of the respond itself, *Intercede pro nobis*. The modal assignment of the *Gloria* and verse are recognizable by their com-

mon melody, especially by the incipit. In this way one is able to identify the mode of the entire chant, in this case, Mode 4.

No hymnal is reproduced in Frere's facsimile edition. The hymn *Iste Confessor* is transcribed from another contemporary manuscript, the Sprouston Breviary,[15] dated *c*. 1300 and probably of Scottish provenance. It is followed by a versicle and response. In this Office, the versicle is a shortened version of the opening antiphon *Amavit eum* which frames the five psalms. Versicles have their own tones, and the one in my unpublished edition is taken from the First Sunday in Advent (*AntS*, VI, *b*).

The final part of the Office begins with the prayer (marked by the rubric *Oratio*). The prayer refers to the saint as an intercessor for the community. It would be followed by a Memorial for a feast that occurs on the same day, but lacking priority and consisting of the Magnificat antiphon and the Vespers versicle and prayer from that particular saint's feast. I know of no thirteenth-century Sarum feast that shares the same date as St Brendan's Day.

On feasts of saints, the terminating versicle *Benedicamus Domino* ('Let us Bless the Lord') is a double Benedicamus versicle, and the repetition is assigned to a less elaborate melody.[16] Melodies for the Benedicamus are allotted to specific feasts. It is a common practice to chant the greeting *Dominus vobiscum* ('The Lord be with you') with its response before the prayer, memorial(s), and blessing. However, in the St Andrew Office, also a double feast, the *Dominus vobiscum* is placed not after the closing Antiphon for the Magnificat, but following the memorials. The rubric in the *Breviarium* for the Office of St Andrew reads 'Deinde Oratio dicatur, sine *Dominus vobiscum*, sed cum *Oremus*'[17] (Then the prayer is said, without 'The Lord be with you', but with 'Let us Pray').

The process of reconstructing a medieval Office from a range of thirteenth-century manuscripts and modern, printed sources is a complex and time-consuming task. Given the limitations of surviving sources, the current state of modern research, and the constraints of time and place, my aim was not to produce a definitive edition which replicates exactly the Office which was performed in the thirteenth century, but rather to create an edition close to such an ideal. The experience of editing this Office brings to mind the extraordinary ability of medieval singers to memorize a vast repertoire of music and texts for the yearly liturgical cycle.

[15] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 18. 2. 13B, fol. 334[ra].

[16] Frere, *Use of Sarum*, I, 275. Note that pp. 273–76 are misbound, and found in the Index between pp. 284 and 285.

[17] *BrevS*, III, 3a.

Appendix

Six Lections from Matins for the feast of St Brendan from the Aberdeen Breviary

From *Legends of Scottish Saints*, ed. and trans. by Alan Macquarrie (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 122–24, reproduced by kind permission of the editor and of Four Courts Press.

Ad Matutinas

Lectio prima. Brandanus a Christo nato triginta duobus et quingentis reuolutis annis apud Scotos floruit; uir magne abstinencie et uirtutibus clarus, trium ferme milium monachorum pater. Per hec tempora ob eximiam suam sanctitatem atque doctrinam maximo in precio habitus est, de quo in libello de ipsius uita quam miranda scribuntur.

Lectio ii. Hic quoque, Fortunatas Insulas septennali nauigacione perquirens, quamplurima uidit mirabilia. A quo diuus Machutus baptizatus et regulariter in Christi doctrina educatus, et ipsius nauigacione socius, atque in Scocia uariis miraculis claruisse legitur.

At Matins

Lesson 1. Brendan flourished among the Scots when 532 years had passed from the birth of Christ; (he was) a man of great abstinence and shining with power, the father of about 3000 monks. During this time he was held in very great esteem on account of his extraordinary holiness and teaching, concerning which it is written in the book of his most wonderful life.

Lesson 2. He also saw very many amazing things while seeking the Fortunate Isles by a seven-year voyage. We read that St Machutus also shone by various miracles in Scotland, having been baptised and regularly trained by him in Christ's teaching, and having been a companion on his voyage.

Lectio tertia. Sanctus itaque Brandanus, de omni congregacione sua electis binis septem fratribus, conclusit se in uno oratorio cum illis et locutus est ad illos, dicens, 'Combellatores mei amantissimi, consilium atque adiutorium a uobis prestolor, quare cor meum et omnes cogitaciones mee conglutinate sunt in una uoluntate, tantum si Dei uoluntas est: terram de qua locutus est pater Berinthus repromissionis sanctorum, in corde meo proposui querere. Quomodo uobis uidetur, aut qualiter michi consulendum est?'

Lesson 3. St Brendan, then, having chosen fourteen brothers out of his whole congregation, shut himself in an oratory with them and spoke to them saying, 'My dearest fellow-soldiers, I ask counsel and help from you, because my heart and all my thoughts are joined together in one wish, if only it is the will of God: I wish in my heart to search for the land of promise of the saints, of which father Berinthus spoke. How does it seem to you? How would you advise me?'

Lectio iiii. Agnita uero uoluntate prefati patris, quasi uno ore dicum omnes, 'Abba, uoluntas tua ipsa est [et] nostra. Nonne parentes nostros dimisimus? Nonne hereditatem nostram despeximus, et corpora nostra tradidimus in manus tuas? Ita parati sumus siue ad mortem siue [ad uitam] ire tecum. Unam tantum querimus Dei uoluntatem.

Lesson 4. When they knew the wish of this father, they all said as if with one voice, 'Father, this wish of yours is ours [also]. Have we not left our parents? Have we not abandoned our inheritance, and given our bodies into your hands? We are thus prepared to go with you either to death or [to life]. We seek only the one will of God'.

Lectio v. Diffiniuit ergo sanctus Brandanus et hii qui cum eo erant ieiunium quadraginta dierum, semper per triduanas, et postea proficisci. Transactis uero quadraginta diebus et salutatis fratribus, commendatisque omnibus preposito monasterii sui, quem postea successorem in eodem loco reliquit, profectus est contra occidentalem partem siue plagam cum uiginti quatuor fratribus, ad insulam cuiusdam sancti patris nomine Pende; ibique demoratus est tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.

Lesson 5. St Brendan and those who were with him decided on a forty-day fast, all by three-day periods, and to set out thereafter. When the forty days were finished and he had greeted the brothers and commended them all to the prior of his monastery, whom he afterwards left as his successor in that place, he set out towards the western land and shore with twenty-four brothers, to the island of a holy father called Enda, and he dwelt there for three days and nights.

Lectio vi. Post hec, accepta benedictione patris monachorumque omnium, profectus est in ultimam partem regionis sue, ubi demorabantur parentes eius; attamen noluit eos uidere, sed in cuiusdam montis summitate extendentis se in occeanum, in loco qui dicitur Sedes Brandani, fixit tentorium, ubi erat introitus unius nauis.

Lesson 6. After this, having received the blessing of the father and all the monks, he set out into the furthest parts of his province, where his parents dwelt; he would not see them, however, but pitched his tent on the summit of a mountain which stretches out into the ocean, in the place called Brendan's Seat [i.e. Mount Brandon, Co. Kerry]. There was an entrance there for a single ship.

Cetera omnia de communi unius confessoris et abbatis Paschalis temporis ...

All the rest from the common of one confessor and abbot in Eastertide, ...

Shaping an 'Indigenous' Liturgy: The Case for Medieval Wales

Sally Harper

Our sources for the study of the liturgy of the medieval Welsh Church — especially where music is concerned — are far from abundant.[1] Just two liturgical books from Wales with substantial musical notation are known to survive, both copied during the early or mid-fourteenth century. The first, a pontifical made in East Anglia for a Bishop of Bangor, is of great interest but has no overtly 'Welsh' content; the second, the so-called 'Penpont Antiphoner', is deservedly well known for its unique rhymed Office for St David, but in other respects is a relatively ordinary book. Alongside these two major survivals we also have a few sequence texts for Welsh saints and some tantalizing textual fragments of rhymed offices for the saints Teilo and Winefride.[2] But the spoils are relatively few alongside the extant riches of the Irish Church. There are rhymed offices with music for Patrick, Brigit, Cainnech, and at least a dozen more without notation for other saints, including Áedán, Cianán, Ciarán, Columba, Declan, Finnian, Laisrén, Laurence of Dublin, Malachy, Moling, and

[1] Much fuller treatment of many of the points considered here can be found in Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[2] See Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture*, pp. 212–16, and Sally Harper, 'Traces of Lost Late Medieval Offices? The *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae* of John of Tynemouth (*fl.*1350)', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John A. Caldwell: Manuscripts, Style, Culture, Historiography*, ed. by Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), pp. 1–21.

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Tigernach (together with other texts for the Translation of Patrick, Brigit, and Columba, and the second Office of Brigit). Comparable riches from Wales perhaps also existed once, but the loss of sources in this country was particularly catastrophic. Not only did the Reformation iconclasts do their work extraordinarily well, but manuscripts were also casualties during frequent earlier insurrections, including the early fifteenth-century wars of Owain Glyndŵr. Many more books, it seems, perished during the seventeenth century.

The liturgical material that has survived from later medieval Wales nevertheless shows a distinct uniformity. The remaining books all reveal a very definite emphasis on Sarum Use, which had reached Wales by 1224, if not earlier, thanks to the settlement in parts of that country of the Anglo-Normans. The purpose of this chapter is therefore twofold. It first makes a brief exploration of the liturgical materials that may have been used in Wales prior to the arrival of the Normans, and secondly, it examines the gradual shaping of a new liturgical pattern at one institution, St Davids, from the early thirteenth century. References throughout to comparable practices within the Irish Church, together with some suggestions for possible lines of influence, should provide a useful starting point for further discussion.

What do we know of the pre-Conquest liturgy in Wales? Written sources are almost non-existent, but there are hints of an early Welsh Rite with its own idiosyncrasies. From the sixth century, that great 'Age of Saints', the Welsh Church was dominated by a series of *clas* institutions, loosely monastic, non-celibate communities centring on a mother church headed by an abbot or bishop,[3] that generally arose in response to a burgeoning and often highly localized cult.[4] Some of the most prominent *clas* communities were those of St Illtud at Llantwit Major in the Vale of Glamorgan, of St David at St Davids itself, and of St Padarn at Llanbadarn Fawr on the outskirts of modern Aberystwyth. Some of these were apparently important centres of learning with their own scriptoria, and a number of fine books were copied during the eleventh century at Llanbadarn Fawr, where there is significant evidence of Irish influence. At its height, Llanbadarn was dominated by the Irish-trained cleric Sulien (1011–91)

[3] See Huw Pryce, 'Pastoral Care in Early Medieval Wales', in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. by J. Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 41–62 (pp. 48–55); also Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), and Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982).

[4] The saints David, Gildas, Samson, Dyfrig, Teilo, Padarn, Nonnita, Euddogwy, Cadog, Illtud, Beuno, Cadfan, Seiriol, Cybi, Garmon, Deiniol, and Asaph all belong to this period.

— who twice served as Bishop of St Davids — and his four sons, Rhygyfarch, Arthen, Daniel, and Ieuan. During the early twelfth century, Ieuan decorated a pocket-sized Hebrew Psalter and Martyrology for his brother Rhygyfarch,[5] and its fine initials are closely akin to contemporary Irish work. There is a similarly decorated copy of St Augustine's *De Trinitate* from the Llanbadarn scriptorium, again most likely the work of Ieuan.[6]

The Rhygyfarch psalter is pocket-sized, and effectively a book for private rather than communal use (as is true for a much earlier diminutive pocket gospel book of Irish type that may have originated in Wales during the ninth or early tenth century).[7] But what happened when a Welsh *clas* community gathered together to worship? There are signs that Welsh institutions followed some remarkably archaic practices. The most significant textual witness from the ninth century is the *Liber Commonei* ('Book of Commoneus'), which later became part of 'St Dunstan's Classbook'. The section copied by the Welsh scribe Commoneus, who signed his name on folio 19^{v}, contains miscellaneous texts, including an Easter table that locates the book between the years 817 and 835. There are also two fascinating sets of parallel-column Greek and Latin lections. The first set (fols 24^{r}–28^{v}), whose exact liturgical function is unknown, comes from the Minor Prophets and presents the parallel Greek passages in Greek script, suggesting that those texts were not intended to be read aloud. But the second set (fols 28^{v}–35^{v} and 19$^{r–v}$), comprising lessons and canticles for the Easter Vigil, suggests a different scenario. Here the Greek text has been transliterated into insular minuscule, implying that the institution associated with this book was still following the very ancient practice of reading the texts bilingually in both Greek and Latin forms.[8] This accords with the early

[5] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 50 (*olim* A.4.20).

[6] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 199.

[7] For a general account of early gospel books in Britain, see P. McGurk, *Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), sections i, ii, vi; David Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1992), ch. 4; J. J. G. Alexander, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Insular Manuscripts, 6th to the 9th Century* (London: Harvey Miller, 1978). McGurk remains open to a possible Welsh origin for the pocket gospel book, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 671 (s. IX^{2}), although Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 111, 117, favours a Cornish provenance.

[8] See *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury: Codex Biblioth. Bodleianae Oxon. Auct. F.4./32*, ed. by R. W. Hunt (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1961), <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msauctf432>. The lections are discussed by I. Williams, 'Glosau Rhydychen: Mesurau a Phwysau', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 5

Roman form of the Easter liturgy in use prior to the reforms of Gregory the Great (*c*. 592), prescribed in at least one early Roman *Ordo*. Gregory himself reduced the number of readings from six to four at the end of the sixth century, but the extra two are given as an appendix here, and the Welsh scribe used special omission signs to mark Gregory's other cuts. The book also confirms that the community was still using the *Vetus Latina*, that early redaction of the Bible that had effectively become extinct in other areas of Europe (including Ireland) from the early fifth century.

There are other signs, too, that the Welsh Church maintained a deliberately isolationist and archaic stance on other important liturgical matters. The *Annales Cambriae* record that the Welsh Church agreed to adopt the Roman method for calculating the date for Easter only in 768, long after the rest of Britain. The church in southern Ireland had complied well over a century earlier after the Synod of Mag Léna in *c*. 630, and that of northern Ireland in 697 at the Synod of Birr. Even Iona, the last of the other 'Celtic' regions, had moved to the new date by 716,[9] a full half-century before Wales.

It is a great pity that no other Welsh books for the liturgy survive, especially from Llanbadarn Fawr, for it seems that this thriving community succeeded in preserving its own indigenous practice long after other *clas* institutions had dissolved or been appropriated by the Normans. Indeed, as late as 1188, Gerald of Wales reported the presence of an aged lay abbot whose sons assisted him in serving at the altar.[10] Given the Irish influence on manuscript production here, and the evident traffic of clerics and scribes between the two countries, we might speculate that Irish practice was also reflected within the Llanbadarn liturgy. A metrical version of the Gospels written at an unknown location in

(1929–30), 226–48; Frederick E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881); 2nd edn with a new introd. and bibliography by Jane Stevenson, Studies in Celtic History, 9 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. lxxiii–iv; B. Fischer, 'Die Lesungen der römischen Ostervigil unter Gregor dem Grossen', in *Colligere Fragmenta: Festschrift Alban Dold*, ed. by B. Fischer and V. Fiala (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 1952), pp. 144–59 (with transcriptions of lections); Michael Lapidge, 'Latin Learning in Dark Age Wales: Some Prolegomena', in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies, Oxford 1983*, ed. by D. Ellis Evans and others (Oxford: Oxbow, 1986), pp. 91–101 (pp. 91–93, for the Welsh context); Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 118–19.

[9] 'Pascha commutatur apud Brittones, emendante Elbodugo homine Dei' (768), cited in Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual*, p. xxxiv.

[10] Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series, 8 vols (London: Longman, 1861–91), VI (1868), p. 121; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales*, trans. by L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 179–81.

Wales during the late ninth or early tenth century, the so-called 'Cambridge Juvencus MS',[11] certainly suggests Irish interchange. Its main text was written by an Irish scribe, Nuadu, who was clearly based in Wales at that period, and a series of Welsh and Irish scribes made later additions. One tenth-century Welsh scribe added the text of the hymn *O lux beata Trinita* (fol. 1^{v}), prescribed in several Anglo-Saxon sources as the hymn for First Vespers of Sunday, while another added a more unusual text on the last page of the manuscript in about 900, beginning *Arbor eterna, diva, summa* (fol. 55^{v}). This reflects classical sequence structure, making use of strict parallelism between pairs of half-strophes; it was very likely intended for liturgical use. Peter Dronke suggests that it was most probably the work of a Welsh poet, and that its emphasis on the figure of *Ecclesia* may imply composition for the dedication of a Welsh church.[12]

Another facet of likely Irish influence is seen in north Wales, where the austere eremitical *Céli Dé* (Culdee) communities that emerged first in eighth-century Ireland seem also to have had influence.[13] Versions of a Culdee rule in Old Irish place special emphasis on the liturgical use of psalmody,[14] and Oliver Davies has suggested that some of the religious poems in the famous Black Book of Carmarthen,[15] copied in the mid-thirteenth century but contain-

[11] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 4. 42. See Helen McKee, *The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript Glossed in Latin, Old Welsh, and Old Irish: Text and Commentary* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2000), and Ingrid B. Milfull, *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Study and Edition of the 'Durham Hymnal'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 109–11, for the text. The hymn survives in several other Anglo-Saxon sources (all lacking notation).

[12] A garbled version of the text appears in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1873–78), I, 622–24; see McKee, *The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript*, p. 19, for a diplomatic transcription. The sequence is also discussed in more detail in two recent sources: Peter Dronke, '*Arbor Eterna*: A Ninth-Century Welsh Latin Sequence', in *Britannia Latina*, ed. by Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute Colloquia, 2005), pp. 14–26, and David Howlett, 'Text and Form of the Cambro-Latin Sequence "Arbor eternal"', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 65 (2007), 235–46.

[13] Gerald of Wales claimed that 'the extremely devout monks' on Bardsey Island were Culdees (Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. by Dimock, p. 124, Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales*, trans. by Thorpe, p. 183). It is possible that there were also Culdees on the island of Priestholm, off Penmon, Anglesey.

[14] Two versions of the Culdee rule appear in translation in Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk: Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1996).

[15] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 1.

ing material composed during the previous three or even four centuries, may reveal Culdee influence.[16] The poem *Cysul Addaon* ('the advice of Addaon'), for instance, opens with a reference to the long Psalm 119, *Beati* [*immaculati in via*], together with the *Pater noster* and Creed, and exactly this same group of texts is known to have been recited together continuously by the Irish Culdees in lieu of more severe penance.[17] Davies also discerns possible liturgical influence in the hymn-like text *Gogonedog Arglwydd* ('Glorious Lord'), which has thematic and structural resonance with both the canticle *Benedicite* and Psalm 148. Equally, the regular rhyme scheme and quasi-Ambrosian metre of the text *Mawl i'r Drindod* ('Praise to the Trinity') also gives it a hymn-like quality, though it must be noted that this same 'hymn' metre is common to much early Welsh verse, both secular and religious. It would certainly be difficult to match any of these poems satisfactorily with any known Ambrosian hymn melody.

All of the early Welsh sources raise more questions than they answer, but they perhaps give some clue to aspects of the indigenous liturgy in early Wales. The signs are mixed: on the one hand, an apparent tendency to uniquely archaic practice up to at least the ninth century; on the other, there is clear evidence of traffic with Ireland, and possible association with Irish Culdee communities. It nevertheless seems clear that centres of book production and learning in early Wales were limited to a very small number of institutions, among them Llanbadarn and St Davids, and the liturgy was perhaps celebrated modestly by most communities.

Fortunately we may discern much more about the liturgical reforms that gradually redefined the Welsh Church from the end of the eleventh century. This was evidently a period of major transition. Bishops acceptable to the Anglo-Norman settlers had been established in all four Welsh cathedral churches (St Davids, Llandaff, Bangor, St Asaph) by 1141, and gradually the whole country became subsumed into that wider liturgical family defined by the vast ecclesiastical province of Canterbury. These years also saw the arrival of Latin monasticism in Wales: the first Benedictine house was implanted *c*. 1070

[16] For an extended discussion of the sacred poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen, including English translations of the texts discussed, see Davies, *Celtic Christianity*, chs 2–3. Welsh texts are included in *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* [The Black Book of Carmarthen], ed. by A. O. H. Jarman and E. D. Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), and also with (Welsh) commentary in *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* ['Barddas' anthology of early religious poetry], ed. by Margaret Haycock (Felindre: Cyhoeddiadau Barddas, 1994).

[17] See *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. and trans. by Ludwig Bieler, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 4, 2nd edn (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975), pp. 278–83.

at Chepstow (founded as a daughter house of Saint-Corneille de Compiègne), and the first Cistercian monastery at Tintern in 1131. The transition in Ireland was perhaps broadly comparable. The Dublin diocese, as Ann Buckley has shown, clearly looked to Canterbury as its principal source of authority as early as the second half of the eleventh century when Patrick, second Bishop of Dublin (1074–84), was consecrated in London, while 'Roman' chant and liturgical practice were introduced at the Synod of Ráith Bhreasail in 1111.[18] Equally, the first Irish Cistercian house was founded by St Malachy at Mellifont around 1142.

It is disappointing that no liturgical books survive from the Welsh Benedictine or Cistercian houses, for some were great centres of book production. At least fifteen different scribes are known to have worked at Margam Abbey between 1150 and 1225,[19] and its early fourteenth-century library catalogue lists a total of 242 theological titles. There is also the tantalizing complaint made to the Cistercian General Chapter in 1217 about polyphonic singing at the border houses of Abbey Dore and Tintern, 'in whose abbeys the chant is said to be performed in three or four voices, in the manner of seculars', which prompted an investigation by the Abbots of Neath and Flaxley.[20] The outcome of this enquiry is not recorded, although there are several poetic references to fine organs and choirs at other Welsh Cistercian houses during later years.

Monks sent to Wales from mother houses in England or continental Europe doubtless brought liturgical books and music with them,[21] although it is clear that the newly settled Benedictines respected and even retained elements of indigenous practice. Several Welsh saints found their way into English Benedictine kalendars: St Padarn was recognized at Gloucester after 1119, while the monasteries of Worcester and Hyde Abbey, Winchester, both adopted the feast of St David.[22] Elsewhere, however, the picture was very different, and the Norman settlers set out to remove or undermine the status of Welsh saints.

[18] Ann Buckley, 'Music in Ireland to *c.* 1500', in *A New History of Ireland*, I: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 744–813.

[19] R. B. Patterson, 'The Author of the "Margam Annals": Early Thirteenth-Century Margam Abbey's Complete Scribe', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1992), 197–210.

[20] *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. by J. M. Canivez, 8 vols (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933–41), I, 472 (1217/30–31).

[21] See F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), and P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 54–58, for general discussion and examples.

[22] Silas Harris, *St David in the Liturgy* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1940), pp. 9–10.

At St Davids, St Andrew had been added as joint patron of the cathedral by 1115, and at Llandaff, the original dedication of St Teilo was changed to St Peter and St Teilo.[23] Similarly, the St Madog dedication of Rudbaxton parish church in Pembrokeshire was replaced by St Michael, and St John the Evangelist eventually replaced St Teulyddog at Carmarthen.[24] Veneration of the Virgin Mary also began to assume far greater prominence.

What of the Welsh secular institutions during this 'new' era? By far the most detailed evidence comes from St Davids, whose medieval documentation testifies to the gradual introduction of Sarum Use from 1224.[25] In fact, there seems to be some uncertainty as to whether Wales or Ireland experienced Sarum Use first. A primitive form of the use may have been known in the Dublin province as early as 1186, while the fully codified 'model' version represented in Bishop Richard Poore's Sarum Ordinal and Consuetudinary from 1218 was perhaps prescribed for Dublin around 1220 (Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 710 includes an early redaction of the Consuetudinary that was

[23] *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. by Julia Barrow (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1998), p. 3 (and n. 10), observes that the earliest reference to the double dedication occurs in Bishop Bernard's 1115 profession of obedience. The north transept of the cathedral (which claimed to possess his tooth) was specifically reserved for St Andrew.

[24] See J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (London: Longmans, 1912), II, 458–59.

[25] The statutes survive only in retrospective copies. The sole pre-Reformation source was compiled during the episcopate of Bishop Edward Vaughan (1509–22) and is known as the St Davids Register and Statute Book (London, British Library, MS Harley 6280). Parts are badly damaged by damp, but may be restored from London, British Library, MS Harley 1249, a transcript made in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century: for description and list of headings, see Edward Owen, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1900–22), pp. 231–48, 466–69. There are also six other copies, some containing variant texts: Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 279 (late seventeenth century), and Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MSS SD Ch./B 21–25 (ranging from *c*. 1685 to the nineteenth century). For fuller descriptions, see W. Greenway, 'The Bishop and Chapters of St David's *c*. 1280–1407' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Cambridge, 1959), pp. 289–90. Statutes predating 1280 are transcribed in *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. by Barrow (*Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to the Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, ed. and trans. by J. C. Davies, 2 vols (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1946–48)), while Edward Yardley transcribed parts of the 1259 and 1344 statutes from Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 279 in National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, MSS SD Ch./B 29–31 (Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. by Francis Green (London: Bedford Press, 1927), pp. 384–86).

apparently copied for St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin).[26] It was also not long before Sarum Use reached Moray and Dunkeld in Scotland.

As already noted, the earliest reference to its adoption in Wales comes from the 1224 statutes of St Davids, drawn up by the Welsh-born Bishop Iorwerth (Gervase). He already had experience of liturgical reform, having attended the fourth Lateran council of 1215 in Rome,[27] and he was probably among the 'other bishops of England and Wales' ('ceteris episcopis Anglie et Wallie') attending the council of the Canterbury province at Osney, near Oxford, in 1222, convened for the specific purpose of promulgating the Lateran decrees. In fact these early St Davids statutes prescribe Sarum Use in just three areas of the liturgy: the 'dignities' and 'customs' due to the precentor;[28] observance of the Office of the Virgin; and observance of the Office of the Dead.[29] The two last probably implied considerable extension to the hours spent in the cathedral church, for both offices were treated as votive in Sarum Use and were sung as a duplicate cycle immediately after the main Office of the day. Musical competence was surely a prerequisite for the St Davids precentor under this new regime.[30] The Sarum Customary indicates that the precentor was to take overall responsibility for directing the choir at all services, and on principal feast days

[26] Geoffrey Hand, 'The Medieval Chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin', *Reportorium Novum*, 3 (1964), 229–48, and William Hawkes, 'The Liturgy in Dublin, 1200–1500: Manuscript Sources', *Reportorium Novum*, 2 (1957–58), 33–67.

[27] Owain T. Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day: The Medieval Office of the Welsh Patron Saint in National Library of Wales MS 20541 E* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1990), p. 151, citing *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church AD 1205–1313*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 47, 57, 100. That Iorwerth was Welsh is confirmed by Cronica de Wallia *s.a.* [1124], which refers to him and Bishop Cadwgan of Bangor as 'duo Walenses'.

[28] 'cum dignitatibus et consuetudinibus et oblationibus quales habet precentor Sarum in ecclesia Sarum': BL, MS Harley 6280, fol. 4^{r-v}: see *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. by Barrow, pp. 11, 84, 105 (*Episcopal Acts*, ed. and trans. by Davies, I, 355–56). W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman, *History and Antiquities of St David's* (London: J. H. and J. Parker, 1856; facs. repr. Haverfordwest: Pembrokeshire County Council Cultural Services, 1998), pp. 321–22, list the grants that eventually became attached to the precentorship.

[29] 'Servitium etiam de Sancta Maria et servitium pro defunctis fiant secundum ordinale ecclesie Sarum', BL, MS Harley 6280, fol. 4^{r-v}; see *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. by Barrow, p. 105.

[30] See the fully searchable resource <http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/>, which includes several versions of the Customary. See also Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), pp. 159–66.

he was to indicate to the 'rulers' how a particular item within the liturgy was to begin. He also drew up the *tabula* or table of duties allotting parts of the service to different members of the foundation and sat beside the bishop (when present) to instruct him in the singing of various items.

To what extent Sarum Use affected the whole of the liturgy at thirteenth-century St Davids nevertheless remains rather unclear. The use next receives a brief mention in the statutes of 1253, which indicate that entry of the community into the choir was to comply with the Sarum Consuetudinary — but only 'until some other Use could be identified'.[31] Was St Davids still clinging to vestiges of *clas* practice at this period, or was it simply considering its options? Nonetheless, any deviance from the norm must have come to nothing, for by the middle of the fourteenth century Sarum Use seems to have been mandatory in all respects. The meticulous documentation of Bishop Adam Houghton (1361–88) is a key witness in this regard: Houghton drew up no fewer than five sets of statutes during his episcopacy (1365, 1368, 1379, 1380, and 1384), doubtless drawing on his experience as precentor, a post he occupied between 1339 and 1352. Sarum Use was strictly enjoined for the four new choristers Houghton added to the cathedral foundation in 1363, for the slovenly vicars choral in 1368, and for his newly founded chantry college of Mary the Virgin, linked to the cathedral by a cloister. One of Houghton's purposes in founding the chantry college was directly related to the poor standard of the liturgy at the cathedral itself, which in part resulted from a shortage of priests who could sing well ('ut rari sunt sacerdotes, saltem bene psallentes'); indeed, most priests had to be imported from England with difficulty and at great expense ('de Anglia cum difficultate ut plurimum adducuntur sacerdotes, ad sumptus graves'). A telling gloss on this appears in Houghton's statutes of 1368 which suggests a sorry state of affairs where music was concerned. Some of the vicars choral began and ended verses before others; some paused in the middle of the chant; all preferred to go their own way rather than listening to their fellows.[32]

[31] 'De ingressu autem in chorum et exitu volumus et iubemus in ecclesia nostra modum et regulam Sarum ecclesie observari quousque per nos vel alium posit utilius si dominus voluerit provideri'. BL, MS Harley 6280, fols 11^{v}-13^{v}, transcribed *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. by Barrow, pp. 137–40 (*Episcopal Acts*, ed. and trans. by Davies, I, 386–9). See also *Calendar of the Patent Rolls ... [of] Richard II*, 6 vols (London, 1895–1909), III: *1385–89*, p. 279, and Greenway, 'The Bishop and Chapters', p. 109.

[32] 'in matutinis et horis canonicis versus psallendo ante alios et per se incipiunt, et post alios in fine nimis protrahunt in medio versus simul cum sociis difformiter et immodice pausant, socios in cantando non auscultant, et simul non finiunt, sed unusquisque ad votum suum

Words were also enunciated poorly in both Mass and Office without appropriate pauses.[33] From now on, Houghton enjoined that both the rulers of the choir and the vicars were to look over the material carefully beforehand to avoid mistakes when singing and reading in public, while the psalms in particular were to be sung with proper attention to beginning and ending simultaneously, all in accordance with Sarum Use.[34] General conduct during the liturgy was also to be addressed; at present vicars constantly murmured in choir, wandered around during services, and chattered with the people.[35]

St Davids is the only Welsh cathedral whose medieval statutes survive, although other institutions very likely went through a similar process of reform. All four cathedrals received an archiepiscopal visitation from John Pecham in 1284, shortly after the demise of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, last of the Welsh princes, and a particularly full set of recommendations was made for St Asaph. In addition to the prescription of proper dress for the unruly clerics, who were not only in the habit of keeping concubines, but also wore striped clothing with long hair and bare legs, there was clear emphasis on liturgical reform. Regular attendance at the Divine Office was now to be mandatory, a new dwelling was to be built to enable the vicars choral to be on hand for services, and perhaps most significantly, the clergy were to follow the rest of the Canterbury province with regard to some of their liturgical practices. There is no specific mention of Sarum Use, but it is a likely subtext to Pecham's visitation.

By the middle of the fourteenth century, Sarum Use had probably been adopted throughout most of Wales, with the possible exception of parts of the north, where there is some indirect evidence that Bangor had its own local use (as is hinted at in the preface to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer).[36] Rather

inordinate procedit, verba anticipant'.

[33] 'in missa et horis canonicis incongrue et sine punctuatione, et orthographia debita male legunt, in choro murmurant, et silentii debiti modum non observant [...] ut frequenter seorsum ad loca extranea se divertunt, cum Laicis [...] indevote fabulantes'. Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD Ch./B 24, fols 20–23 (all versos blank), headed 'Item in vituperio et scandalo vicariorum chori nostra menevensis Ecclesiae quae nostra reputamur'; cf. Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 279, pp. 30–31.

[34] 'quod tam Rectores chori quam vicarii [...] omnia per eos publice cantando et legenda [...] et deliberate supervideant antequam ea legant vel cantent publice plene in executione oficii sui [...] in psalmozinando, pausando, incipendo versus et finiendo modum Ecclesiae Sarum et honestum observant'. Aberystwyth, NLW, MS SD Ch./B 24, fol. 22^{r}.

[35] Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 279, pp. 13–14.

[36] 'Heretofore there hath been great diversitie in saying and synging in churches within

surprisingly this rite was also being used by the Austin canons of Royston, Hertfordshire, in 1517, when the prior of Royston, Robert White, petitioned the Bishop of London, Richard Fitzjames, to replace their old service books. The new ones were to follow the Use of Sarum rather than the Use of Bangor, which to date had apparently been the norm.[37] It is disappointing that any trace of this use has thus far proved entirely elusive; indeed, the handful of late medieval Welsh liturgical books that do survive reveal remarkable uniformity. With only one exception (a fifteenth-century hymnal-sequentiary perhaps copied at St Davids and now kept in Hawarden Record Office, Flintshire), these books originated outside Wales, although most reveal very few alterations to accommodate local practice. On the whole, local amendments are found only as kalendar additions, or occasionally as sets of proper prayers for local saints. Set against this, the near-complete Office of St David in the Penpont Antiphoner is a most fortunate survival, though even here, of course, we must remind ourselves that all but three of its melodies are borrowed from existing sources — and most particularly from the widely circulating Office of St Thomas of Canterbury.[38]

We might conclude by speculating about the likely liturgical interchange between Wales and Ireland during this later medieval period. We know that the Irish Church — certainly in some areas — venerated St David, although there are hints that the Irish textual tradition was somewhat distinct. Marc Schneiders has noted the appearance of unique proper material for St David in three Irish manuscripts, including an isolated rhymed antiphon *Trinitatis unitatem iubilando veneremur* found in a breviary from the Waterford area. Surprisingly this text has no place in the Penpont Office, and the readings for Matins in the Waterford book also follow a slightly different tradition from that

this realme: some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of Yorke, and some of Lincoln.' Preface, *The booke of the common prayer and admininistracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche after the use of the Churche of England* (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1549).

[37] London, Guildhall Library, MS 9531/9, Register of Bishop Richard Fitzjames of London (1506–22), cited in 'Houses of Austin Canons: Royston Priory', in *A History of the County of Hertford*, IV, ed. by William Page (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1971), p. 440.

[38] Harris, *St David in the Liturgy*; Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers*; D. Huws, 'St David in the Liturgy: A Review of Sources', and O. T. Edwards, 'The Office of St David in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 17294', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. by J. W. Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007) , pp. 220–32 and pp. 233–52, respectively.

represented by the Welsh sources.[39] They reappear in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 86, together with a collect (based on that in London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A. xiv) found also in another book from Dublin, Trinity College, MS 78. Another breviary used in Ireland from *c.* 1400, now found in Wales (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 21604A), also contains proper lessons of St David in the main *Sanctorale* cycle.

In turn, the Welsh — particularly in the west — must surely have venerated some of the Irish saints, although there is very little left in terms of liturgical material to show for it. The Penpont Antiphoner contains nothing by way of Irish material — not even a memorial of St Patrick; indeed virtually the only evidence that Irish saints were sometimes recognized comes in a manuscript addition to a copy of the 1531 printed edition of the Sarum missal known to have been used at Llanbadarn Fawr, where the feast of St Ciaran, the Irish contemporary of David, has been appended to the kalendar.[40]

Despite the evident limitations of the Welsh materials, there is still a good deal of comparative work to be done in terms of the liturgical relationship between Wales and Ireland, particularly at that point of transition when native practice began to be subsumed into a wider 'international' pattern, defined by the inexorable progression of Sarum Use. Our debate needs to be informed by a knowledge of the main centres of influence and book production in Ireland, of the movements of its clerics and scribes, and of those who were influential in setting the liturgical standards, particularly in the larger institutions. Equally, it would be good to know more of how indigenous Irish liturgical materials were constructed, and whether there are other rhymed offices from Ireland or Scotland that draw on existing material in the way that the St David Office draws directly on that of Thomas of Canterbury. There may also be Welsh saints who make their mark in non-Welsh liturgical sources from both Ireland and Scotland. We may yet know little of the detail of Welsh liturgical practice, but the broad similarities of these loosely 'Celtic' regions surely confirm that we have much to learn from one another.

[39] Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS 19,954, fol. 339^{v}, cited in M. Schneiders, 'Review of Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers*', *Peritia*, 8 (1994), 252–54.

[40] This copy survives as Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Printed Books, b.31P(5F). See also Silas Harris, 'A Llanbadarn Fawr Calendar', *Ceredigion*, 11 (1952), 18–26.

Liturgy: Theory and Practice

The Significance of the *Liturgia Horarium* in the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani* in its Modelling of a Sacramental Christian Life

Patricia M. Rumsey

In this chapter, we examine a text from near the beginning of the medieval period. It involves a critical analysis of the liturgical dimension of the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani*, concentrating on the theology of the hour of Compline as it is presented there. It explores the understanding shown in the text of the *Liturgia Horarium* as the interface between this world of time and the 'eternal liturgy taking place in the heavens', and of Compline as the exception which manifests this understanding. It is during the Liturgy of the Hours that this life and the life of the age to come intersect. The author of the *Nauigatio* is careful to show that Compline is not part of the liturgy taking place in the Otherworld:[1] it has no place in the liturgy of the heavens; it belongs very firmly to this world of time. It is presented in the text as part of the daily round of offices, and yet also outside it, because it is not seen as linked

* This paper is an exploration of a new area of research which I have developed more fully in my book: Patricia M. Rumsey, *Sacred Time in Early Christian Ireland* (London: Continuum, 2007).

[1] Tales of heroic sea voyages in search of a mysterious 'Otherworld' belong to a characteristically Irish literary genre; see Jonathan M. Wooding, 'Monastic Voyaging and the *Nauigatio*', in *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature*, ed. by Jonathan Wooding (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 226–45.

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to any episode in the Passion or the life of Christ. Furthermore, the penitential themes of Compline — forgiveness of sins, sleep as the image of death, the need for protection during the night — are not needed in the liturgy taking place in Eternity, and on its fringes in the Otherworldly monasteries described by the author of the *Nauigatio*. In the *Terra repromissionis sanctorum* there is no need for Compline.

The text of the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani* ostensibly describes sixth-century monasticism but in reality shows us the monastic world of the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Kenney described this text in 1920 as 'a picture of the ideal monastic life. The *Nauigatio Brendani* is the epic — shall we say the Odyssey? — of the old Irish Church'.[2] However, only comparatively recently has it come to be seen as a classic monastic text.[3] Although Kenney himself said that the *Nauigatio* is a fruitful source of information on the canonical hours,[4] yet liturgists have been slow to take this up and have not appreciated the wealth of information which it contains on the early Office.

For centuries the *Nauigatio* was read, understood, and — presumably, judging by the number of copies extant — greatly enjoyed throughout Europe as a story of a historical journey. However, there were medieval satires which refused to take it literally,[5] and the Bollandists were unwilling to print it as hagiography.

Then early in the 1920s, Kenney described the *Nauigatio* as not attempting 'solely, nor indeed primarily, to describe the wonders of the ocean'; he claimed both that the text was the 'epic' of the early Irish Church and that the author

[2] James F. Kenney, 'The Legend of St Brendan', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd ser., 14 (1920), 51–67 (p. 62).

[3] See, for example, Thomas O'Loughlin, 'Distant Islands: The Topography of Holiness in the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani*', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition — England, Ireland and Wales: Papers Read at Charney Manor, July 1999*, ed. by Marian Glasscoe, Exeter Symposium, 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), pp. 1–20; Thomas O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (London: Continuum, 2000); Thomas O'Loughlin, 'The Monastic Liturgy of the Hours in the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani*: A Preliminary Investigation', *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 71 (2006), 113–26; Jonathan Wooding, 'Fasting, Flesh and the Body in the St Brendan Dossier', in *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*, ed. by Jane Cartwright (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 161–76.

[4] James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I: *Ecclesiastical* (Dublin: Pádraig Ó Táilliúir, 1979), p. 415, n. 151.

[5] These satires 'ridicule the legend of Brendan's voyage, and declare it to be positively heretical': Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, p. 417.

was 'painting a picture of the ideal monastic life'.[6] Thus the case for a historicist interpretation was being eroded, and the links between the text and an interpretation of the various aspects of monastic life had already been recognized and were being strengthened.

A major advance in Brendan studies began with the publication of articles by Cynthia Bourgeault and Dorothy Ann Bray in 1983 and 1995, respectively, in which they both explored the allegorical nature of the *Nauigatio*, and in particular, the specifically monastic interpretation of this text.[7] Burgess and Strijbosch describe Bray as saying that 'an allegorical reading of the *Nauigatio* reveals a profoundly spiritual text' and that there is 'in the text an important ecclesiastical message regarding monasticism and religious life, which corresponds to the development of the Irish church in the eighth and ninth centuries'.[8] She claimed that by the time the *Nauigatio* was written, *peregrinatio* abroad had fallen out of favour, so tales of fabulous voyages had entered the realm of legend, hence readers would have interpreted the text which sets out a seven-year voyage by Brendan and his monks to the *Terra repromissionis sanctorum* — the Promised Land of the Saints — as an allegory. Bourgeault also investigated the monastic element in the *Nauigatio*, claiming that it was a tale about monks, by monks, and for monks.[9]

This same premise is taken up and developed more recently by O'Loughlin in his study of holiness and time within the *Nauigatio* where he argues that the text is 'a rich and complex lesson on the monastic life' and agrees that it should be read *spiritualiter*.[10] On the various islands visited by Brendan, time exists in different dimensions and does not always function as it does in this world. There is an eternal dimension constantly 'pressing in on the horizons of life',[11] and this dimension can be reached and entered in two ways: one is by living the monastic life, and the other by the recitation of the Liturgy of the Hours.

[6] Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, p. 415.

[7] Cynthia Bourgeault, 'The Monastic Archetype in the *Nauigatio* of St Brendan', *Monastic Studies*, 14 (1983), 109–12; Dorothy Ann Bray, 'Allegory in the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani*', *Viator*, 26 (1995), 1–10.

[8] Glyn S. Burgess and Clara Strijbosch, *The Legend of St Brendan: A Critical Bibliography* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2000), p. 123.

[9] Bourgeault, 'The Monastic Archetype', p. 111.

[10] O'Loughlin, 'Distant Islands', pp. 1–20; quoted in Burgess and Strijbosch, *The Legend of St Brendan*, p. 209.

[11] Burgess and Strijbosch, *The Legend of St Brendan*, p. 210.

Here I propose to use the presentation of Compline found in the *Nauigatio* as a case study. Even today, Compline is the 'poor relation' of the liturgical hours. Much research has been done on the origins, development, and theology of all the other hours of the Divine Office,[12] but relatively little attention has been paid to the night prayer of the church; however, it is a fruitful example for research in this area. Here I will discuss the origins of the hour of Compline and trace its appearance and subsequent development in the liturgy of the Insular Church in order to illustrate, by way of contrast, the theology of the other canonical hours. The author of the *Nauigatio* draws a sharp distinction between Compline (as part of the daily round of offices, and yet also outside it) and the other canonical hours which he highlights as the interface between this world and the next. Crichton sums up the character and atmosphere of Compline succinctly: 'Compline has always had a special character, quiet, contemplative, summing up the day and looking on to the sleep of the night'.[13]

But while its characteristics and purpose (that of 'completing' the round of offices for the day, expressing repentance for sins committed, preparing for sleep as an image of death, and praying for a peaceful night) are straightforward, its history is not. Although it was a custom in the church apparently from the beginning to engage in regular prayer at nightfall, to salute Christ the Light of the World as the lamps were lit at sundown, and to commemorate his burial in the tomb,[14] this eventually developed into the Office of Vespers. Guiver quotes the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (*c.* AD 215) as mentioning Compline, but this is only a single line reference: 'Similarly pray before your body goes to take its rest in bed';[15] and there is some confusion in the text between None/Vespers and Vespers/Night prayer, so it is quite possible that Vespers is intended here rather than a very early reference to Compline, or even simply some private non-formal prayer.

[12] See Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1986; 2nd rev. edn, 1993); Robert Taft, '"Thanksgiving for the Light": Towards a Theology of Vespers', *Diakonia*, 13 (1978), 27–50; Juan Mateos, 'The Morning and Evening Office', *Worship*, 42 (1968), 31–47; Joan Hazelden Walker, 'Terce, Sext and None: An Apostolic Custom?', in *Studia Patristica*, v, ed. by F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962), pp. 206–12; Dikran Y. Hadidian, 'The Background and Origin of the Christian Hours of Prayer', *Theological Studies*, 25 (1964), 59–69.

[13] John D. Crichton, *Understanding the Prayer of the Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1993), p. 72.

[14] See Taft, '"Thanksgiving for the Light"', p. 28.

[15] *Apostolic Tradition* 3:35; see George Guiver, *Company of Voices: Daily Prayer and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1988), p. 223.

John Cassian mentions the praying of psalms before retiring,[16] and some commentators have understood the Office of Compline here.[17] This, however, is a controversial issue, and others think it to be an anachronistic assumption, as he does not mention Compline in his detailed description of the Palestinian Office. Taft would prefer 'to consider these psalms as simply bedtime prayers before a formal Office of Compline had been introduced to serve this purpose'.[18] I do not think these two points of view are mutually exclusive: here we can possibly see in these 'psalms before retiring' the *origins* of Compline, if not the actual Office itself in its later developed and recognizable form.

Basil, writing before 379, mentions the recitation of Psalm 90 at the beginning of the night, to petition a night's rest 'without offence and free from phantasies'.[19] Again, it is not clear whether personal prayer or a communal Office is intended. However, it has been claimed that by the year 400, Compline had been definitively introduced as a new, bedtime Office for the monks in the urban centres in Asia Minor, which meant a duplication of Vespers.[20] But it is my contention that, far from 'duplicating Vespers', the hour of Compline, at least in the early West, had a clear theology of its own.

Compline is mentioned briefly by Aurelian, Bishop of Arles, by Isidore of Seville, and by Fructuosus of Braga,[21] and described in detail in the anonymous *Regula Magistri*;[22] it also appears in the *Regula* attributed to Benedict.[23] So by the late sixth century, Compline was certainly a fully accepted part of the daily round of monastic offices with its own set psalms, chosen for their suitability,[24] which brought the daily *cursus* to its conclusion. The great Roman basilicas had acquired 'communities living a quasi-monastic life', and although the forms of

[16] John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum*, ed. by M. Petschenig, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 17 (Vienna: Academia Litterarum Caesarea, 1888), p. 60.

[17] See Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, p. 79.

[18] Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, p. 79.

[19] *Longer Rules* 37; *Patrologiæ Græcæ*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, vol. XXXI: *Basil the Great* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1885), col. 1012. Quoted in Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, p. 86.

[20] Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, p. 90.

[21] Aurelian of Arles, *Rule for Monks*, 56:55, quoted in Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, p. 107; Isidore of Seville, *Rule for Monks*, 6, quoted ibid., p. 119; Fructuosus of Braga, *Rule for Monks*, quoted ibid.

[22] Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, p. 122.

[23] Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, pp. 122–23, 138.

[24] In the *Regula* of Benedict, these are Pss 4, 90, 133.

the Office in use differed from one basilica to another, Compline seems to have had a set and recognizable form and to have been fully accepted everywhere on the Continent as an integral part of the daily Office.[25]

When we move to specifically insular texts, there is some ambiguity regarding Compline. Earlier scholars such as Ryan and Gougaud are unsure when Compline appeared in the daily *cursus* and are inclined to date its inclusion to the ninth century at the earliest. However, the *Nauigatio* bears unequivocal witness to the acceptance of Compline as part of the daily round of offices possibly by as early as the middle of the eighth century.

Gougaud says emphatically of Ireland that 'the hour of Compline did not exist in the primitive *cursus*',[26] and refers to Ryan: 'Its institution seems to date at the earliest from the ninth century'.[27] Certainly there is no mention of Compline in the *Regulae* of Columbanus,[28] or in the Irish gloss of the eighth century written in an Irish commentary on the psalms,[29] to which Gougaud also alludes.[30] Curran refers to the *Rule of Ailbe*, where a daily *cursus* of seven hours is given, but with no mention of Compline. Curran then claims that 'this system was changed in due course, apparently through the influence of Benedict's *Rule*. From the ninth century onwards we find Compline mentioned as a regular part of the office'. He goes on to say that 'the change can be observed in the ninth-century *Nauigatio sancti Brendani*',[31] but whereas it is quite correct to say that the addition of Compline to the daily *cursus* is to be found in the *Nauigatio*, recent dating places this text more probably in the late eighth century, thus bringing forward the addition of Compline to the daily round of prayer by maybe nearly a hundred years. It is here that the precise dating of the *Nauigatio* becomes crucial.

[25] Guiver, *Company of Voices*, p. 241.

[26] Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1932; repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1992), pp. 332, 333.

[27] John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism, Origins and Early Development* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1931; repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1993), p. 336, n. 1.

[28] *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. by G. S. M. Walker (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957–97), pp. 129, 133.

[29] Quoted in Michael Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984), p. 163.

[30] Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, pp. 329, 330.

[31] Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, p. 163.

Current scholarship, while discarding the notion that the *Nauigatio* is to be read as a historical text, does not completely discredit the idea that the text bears witness to the historical fact of North Atlantic voyaging,[32] and Wooding argues that this, seen in conjunction with Dicuil's *De mensura orbis terrae*, can be used as an aid to the dating of the *Nauigatio*.[33] This is a complex and controversial issue and is important in its bearing upon the liturgical significance of the text. Selmer's opinion was that the text dates from the tenth century.[34] Orlandi dates it to the ninth;[35] while Dumville thinks it cannot be much later than the third quarter of the eighth century, on the basis that Brendan's Alltraige/Éoganacht genealogy relates to a period in which there were close connections between these two peoples.[36] Although Carney, in reviewing Selmer's edition of the *Nauigatio*, claims that 'it may be said immediately that at the moment it seems impossible to date the *Nauigatio* with any precision', he also suggests *c*. 800 as the date of composition and posits a kind of 'proto-*Nauigatio*', no longer extant, dating from the seventh century.[37] Wooding suggests the likely date of the composition of the *Nauigatio* as *c*. 780–800.[38] It would seem highly probable that the stories of Brendan's voyaging were already well known by the

[32] See Jonathan Wooding, 'The Munster Element in *Nauigatio sancti Brendani abbatis*', *JCHAS*, 110 (2005), 33–47 (p. 36): 'The tale, if not "real", is set against the detailed backdrop of a known world of voyaging in the ocean "desert", echoing travellers' tales that probably would have been familiar to its audience'.

[33] Wooding, 'Monastic Voyaging', pp. 226–45. For a discussion of the date of the *Nauigatio*, see David Dumville, 'Two Approaches to the Dating of *Nauigatio sancti Brendani*', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 29 (1988), 87–102; repr. in *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature*, ed. by Wooding, pp. 120–32; O'Loughlin, 'Distant Islands', p. 1, n. 1; also Jonathan Wooding, 'The Latin Version', in *The Voyage of St Brendan: Representative Versions of the Legend in English Translation*, ed. by W. R. J. Barron and G. S. Burgess (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), pp. 13–25 (p. 18). The fullest and most recent study in which all the preceding material is discussed is that of Jonathan Wooding, 'The Date of *Nauigatio S. Brendani abbatis*', *Studia Hibernica*, 37 (2011), 9–27.

[34] *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis from Early Latin Manuscripts*, ed. and trans. by Carl Selmer, Publications in Medieval Studies, 16 (Notre Dame: University of Indiana Press, 1959; repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1989), p. xxviii.

[35] *Navigatio sancti Brendani edidit Ioannes Orlandi*, 2 vols (Milano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1968), I: *Introduzione*, pp. 72–73.

[36] Dumville, 'Two Approaches'.

[37] James Carney, 'Review of *Nauigatio sancti Brendani Abbatis*', *Medium Aevum*, 32 (1963), 37–44 (p. 51).

[38] Wooding, 'Monastic Voyaging', p. 240.

late eighth century, for there is a reference to *egressio familiae Brendini* under the date of 22 March in the Martyrology of Tallaght,[39] which is usually dated *c*. 800.[40] My own hypothesis, based on liturgical elements in the text such as the clericalizing tendencies,[41] is that it was written some time shortly after 800, which would correspond with the evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght.

There are four quite clear and specific references to Compline in the text of the *Nauigatio*, with no explanations or ambiguities, suggesting that it was an integral and totally accepted part of the daily round of prayer at the time the *Nauigatio* was written. The first occurs in Chapter 1 when Barrind is telling his story to Brendan and his monks. He tells of visiting 'an island near Slieve League, called the delightful Island', where his spiritual son, Mernóc, has many monks living in his monastery with him. Barrind tells how all these monks join together to sing the Divine Office, including Compline.[42]

The next is when Brendan and his monks reach the Island of the Uninhabited House. There they eat the meal that God had provided for them, glorify God, and then 'finita iam cena et opere Dei completo'[43] (which is an effective and

[39] *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. by Richard. I. Best and Henry J. Lawlor, Henry Bradshaw Society, 68 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1931), p. 26. According to the editorial 'Introduction', the *Martyrology of Tallaght* is the oldest of the three extant Irish martyrologies (the other two are the *Félire* of Óengus, composed between 797 and 808, and the *Félire* of Gorman, between 1166 and 1174). These two are both metrical and owe their composition to the *Martyrology of Tallaght*. See also *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. by Best and Lawlor, pp. xx–xxii for compilation and sources.

[40] John Anderson, 'The *Nauigatio Brendani*: A Medieval Best Seller', *The Classical Journal*, 83 (1987–88), 315–22 (p. 312). For the date of the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, see *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. by Best and Lawlor, pp. xx–xxi; also Pádraig Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 86 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 2006), who proposes a date of *c*. 830.

[41] See Salmon, *The Breviary Through the Centuries*, pp. 8–11, for the details of contemporary ecclesiastical legislation regarding the clergy. Councils at Mainz (813), Tours (813), Aix (816), Rome (826), Paris (829), and Meaux (845) all insisted on the organization of life according to rule for all the clergy, on the duty all these clerics had to serve their local church, and on their obligation to participate in the choral Office. Of a total of fifteen monks in Brendan's boat on the voyage, at least three are priests. Compared with the earlier situation where possibly not even the abbot of a monastery was ordained, this is a high percentage, suggesting a monastery which had undergone the clericalization process taking place under Charlemagne *c*. 800. See also Eoin De Bhaldraithe, 'Daily Eucharist: The Need for an Early Church Paradigm', *American Benedictine Review*, 41.4 (1990), 378–440 (pp. 412–14).

[42] *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. and trans. by Selmer, 1:29, p. 5.

[43] *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. and trans. by Selmer, 6:52, p. 53.

interesting use of the ablative absolute), they go to bed. The final hour of the Office is not named explicitly but is inferred in the Latin word *completo*.[44] It is sung by Brendan and his community.

The next reference to Compline is in Chapter 11, and again it is not mentioned by name: 'Finita iam cena, ceperunt opus Dei peragere'.[45] However, it is obvious that this part of the *Opus Dei* is not Vespers, because the birds have already sung their version of Vespers in the previous paragraph, so once more one assumes that it is Compline, taking place between the evening meal and bed. Again, the text makes clear that it is sung by Brendan and his monks.

The fourth reference is the most interesting of all, because not only does it mention the hour by name ('omnes cum magna alacritate festinabant ad completorium'),[46] but also there is a fairly detailed description of what the hour involved:

> At uero abbas, cum inchoasset predictum uersiculum, id est 'Deus in adiutorium meum', et dedisset simul honorem Trinitati, incipiebant istum uersiculum cantare, dicentes: 'Iniuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus. Tu, qui pius es pater, parce nobis, Domine. In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam, quoniam tu, Domine singulariter in spe constituisti me'.
>
> [When the abbot had intoned the versicle: 'O God, come to my aid' and they had together given honour to the Trinity, they began to chant the versicle: 'We have acted wrongly, we have done iniquity! You, Lord, who are our faithful father, spare us. I shall sleep in peace, therefore, and shall take my rest; for you, Lord, have placed me, singularly, in hope'.][47]

This description of Compline, with its embryonic penitential rite, is of the greatest importance for the history of this hour in the early medieval West and has so far gone virtually unnoticed.[48]

It is of the greatest significance that in the *Nauigatio* only the specifically monastic choirs of Ailbe's and Brendan's monks sing Compline; this canonical hour is not sung by the supernatural birds in Chapter 11 or by the three choirs

[44] It is assumed to be thus by O'Meara in his translation. Cf. John J. O'Meara, *The Voyage of Saint Brendan* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1991), p. 12.

[45] *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. and trans. by Selmer, 11:57, 58, p. 25.

[46] *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. and trans. by Selmer, 12:101, 102. p. 34.

[47] *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. and trans. by Selmer, 12:101–08, pp. 34, 35.

[48] For the significance of the mention of the *Gloria Patri* 'dedisset simul honorem Trinitati', see O'Loughlin, 'The Monastic Liturgy', p. 168.

in Chapter 17, which are never actually described as monks, even though Brendan does refer to them (17:55) as *congregatione*, which is the word used elsewhere (1:86) for a specifically monastic community. It would suggest that the author intends his readers to understand that Compline, alone of all the canonical hours, is sung only by those still connected to this world; it is unique in that it is strictly for the here-and-now. Its triple themes of sorrow for the sins of the day, protection during the oncoming night, and preparation for sleep as an image of death are seen by the author as unnecessary or inappropriate for incarnate spirits, or for those who spend the night in the 'mystical chant' of the Three Choirs, where the scriptural 'cloud of extraordinary brightness' symbolizes the presence of God.[49] In the author's mind, whereas Compline belongs very firmly to this world and those who dwell in it, the other hours of the Office are sung both by those who inhabit this world and those who inhabit the next, so the Liturgy of the Hours is presented as the interface between this world and the world to come, of which we are given a glimpse during the praying of the canonical hours.

So, in the *Nauigatio*, Compline is seen both as part of the daily round of offices and yet also outside this round; outside because it was not viewed as linked to any episode in the Passion or the life of Christ (as were the other hours), and also because the penitential themes of Compline, with its preoccupation with forgiveness of sins, sleep, death, and the need for protection during the night, are not needed during 'the eternal liturgy of the heavens' which takes place in, and on the fringe of, the Otherwordly monasteries described in the *Nauigatio*. It is during the Liturgy of the Hours that this life and the life of the age to come intersect, but the author of the *Nauigatio* is careful to show that Compline is not part of the liturgy taking place in the Otherworld. Those who dwell there have no need to be sorry for sin; they have no need to prepare either for sleep or for death of which sleep is the image; and 'there will be no night there' (Apoc. 21. 25) because Christ risen in glory provides the shadowless light of his holiness on all the nations of earth assembled together. Compline has no place in the liturgy of the heavens: it belongs very firmly to this world. This is clearly demonstrated in Chapter 1 of the *Nauigatio*, where Barrind visits first of all Mernóc's monastery, and then the island 'which is called the Promised Land of the Saints'. In Mernóc's community, ideal though the observance is, it is still a monastery belonging to this world and the course of the day's prayer is con-

[49] Ex. 19. 9, 16; 24. 16, 17.

cluded with the Office of Compline;[50] but in the Promised Land of the Saints, 'You have never been overcome by sleep nor has night enveloped you! For here it is always day, without blinding darkness. Our Lord Jesus Christ is the light of this island'.[51] Therefore there is no suggestion of Compline.

Schmemann explains and sets out the situation as it is understood in present-day Orthodox liturgical theology, as follows:

> Thus 'Compline', which is formally recognised as one of the services of the daily cycle, is still an essentially 'non-liturgical' service. It can be sung 'in the cell', i.e. it can be part of the individual's devotional rule; it does not suppose an 'assembly of the Church' and an officiating minister; its structure consists of a simple sequence of psalms and prayers without any definite 'theme', while a theme is characteristic of Vespers and Matins.[52]

The hour of Compline, *completorium*, 'completes' the day's round of canonical prayer and brings it to its conclusion. In the next world there is no ending to the eternal liturgy in the heavens; it continues forever with no completion or conclusion, and therefore Compline becomes irrelevant.

With simplicity and some apparent naïveté, but also with clarity and great theological precision, the monastic author of the *Nauigatio* gives us a glimpse of his theology of the life to come, and his understanding of the place of the various canonical hours of the Divine Office, especially Compline, within that theology. This illustrates from early Irish texts the understanding that the Liturgy of the Hours is the interface between this world and the next.

[50] *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. and trans. by Selmer, 1:29, p. 5.

[51] *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. and trans. by Selmer, 1:58–60, p. 7.

[52] Alexander Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, trans. by Asheleigh Moorhouse (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1975), p. 108.

The Use of the Eucharistic Chrismal in Pre-Norman Ireland

Neil Xavier O'Donoghue

There has always been a tendency on the part of some authors to find much of the 'weird and wonderful' in pre-Norman Ireland. Liturgical scholars have not been immune to this tendency, and even today many of the most popular reference works on liturgy have sections on a 'Celtic Rite' that was supposedly in use in early Ireland.[1] However most modern authorities on liturgy in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages would place Ireland within the sphere of Gallican liturgy, thus understanding the situation in Ireland to have been much more mainstream in liturgical matters than was once thought.[2]

The Gallican liturgical rite is a particular way of celebrating the liturgy which, along with nearly all the other rites, emerged from the early church.[3]

[1] See, for example, Antonio C. Molinero, *Las Otras liturgías occidentales* (Bilbao: Ediciones EGA, 1992), pp. 51–75.

[2] For more on the Eucharist in pre-Norman Ireland, see Neil Xavier O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011); and for a review of the current literature, see Fredrick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881); 3rd facsimile edn with a new introduction by Neil Xavier O'Donoghue (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010).

[3] Unfortunately we do not have an abundance of evidence for the Eucharistic practice of

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In time the Gallican Rite was to be a casualty in the history of liturgy as it gradually disappeared.[4] Although it might be more accurate to say that it merged with the Old Roman Rite to form a new synthesis between the two, and that it was this Gallicanized Roman Rite that was to become the Romano-Frankish Rite common to most of Western Christendom. Modern studies of the Gallican Rite place the Irish sources on a par with Continental sources, with the *Irish Palimpsest Sacramentary* of Munich being among the best examples of the early Gallican liturgy and the Stowe Missal being a perfect example of a later Gallican type of missal which has accepted many Roman elements, including the Roman Canon.[5] Indeed in the most recent French-language critical study of the Gallican Rite as the rite 'of ancient Gaul and the non-Roman West', almost as much space is given to Irish sources as to French![6]

This context would suggest that it is futile to look for a Celtic or Irish Eucharistic rite.[7] However, it would also be anachronistic to believe that the liturgy was celebrated throughout the Gallican region in exactly the same way

the first Christians, but rather, our knowledge must be based on a variety of tantalizing hints from a small group of texts of different genres, ages, and geographic regions. For an up-to-date account of the problems involved with the study of the Eucharist in the pre-Nicene Church, a good introduction may be found in Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), and Paul F. Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins*, Alcuin Club Collections, 53 (London: SPCK, 2004), as well as the various articles in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. by Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[4] For a history of the Gallican Rite and its eventual merger with the Roman Rite, see W. S. Porter, *The Gallican Rite* (London: Mowbray, 1958).

[5] For modern editions of these manuscripts, see *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar im CLM 14429 der Staatsbibliothek München*, ed. and trans. by Alban Dold and Leo Eizenhöfer (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 1964), and *The Stowe Missal: MS.D.II.3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, ed. by George F. Warner, 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society, 31 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1906–15; repr. 1989 in one vol.).

[6] Matthieu Smyth, *La liturgie oubliée: La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l'occident non-romain* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2003). This study is the most complete modern treatment of the Gallican Rite. See especially pp. 83–225, where Smyth attempts to reconstruct the general outline of the Gallican Rite of the Eucharist using all the various source material, and where the importance of the Irish material is especially evident.

[7] A good summary of all the evidence which points to the use of the Gallican Rite in Ireland can be found in Marc Schneiders, 'The Origins of the Early Irish Liturgy', in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Learning and Literature*, ed. by Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996), pp. 76–98.

given that even today, centuries after the invention of the printing press and standardized liturgical texts, one can find vastly different liturgical practices in different regions.[8] There were a number of particular features of Eucharistic celebration in Ireland which were different from other regions, some of which may even have arisen in Ireland and passed to the rest of Western Christianity. Among these it may be possible that an Irish influence was strong in the start of private masses and in the multiplication of masses in general in the medieval period. However, much study needs to be done in these areas, and in this paper I wish to address a less controversial issue which does seem to have been a particular Eucharistic practice in pre-Norman Ireland: the use of the chrismal for the reservation of the Eucharistic bread outside of the context of the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist.

Usually a chrismal refers to some type of vial or recipient to carry the holy oil of chrism that is used in some of the various anointings of Christian initiation, in ordinations and the consecration of churches. While today there exist no examples of chrismals of undisputed Irish provenance, there are a number in England.[9] This type of chrismal must also have been familiar in Ireland. Indeed a small (5 × 6 cm) cast bronze vessel of eleventh-century date from Ballypriormore, Islandmagee, Co. Antrim,[10] which is today in the Ulster Museum, may have been a chrismal used for its original purpose of storing chrism, given that its dimensions would be more suited to a liquid than a solid.[11]

However in an Irish milieu the Latin word *Chrismale* is given a different meaning as principally a vessel for carrying the Eucharistic Host.[12] This vessel was usually carried around the neck of an ecclesiastic. Before exploring the texts

[8] For the context of liturgical standardization prior to the printing press, see Cyrill Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Portland, OR: The Pastoral Press, 1986), pp. 4–5.

[9] See, for example, Helen Geake, 'Medieval Britain and Ireland', *Medieval Archaeology*, 48 (2004), 244–46.

[10] Personal communication from Cormac Bourke, Curator of Medieval Antiquities, Department of Archaeology and Ethnography, Ulster Museum, 7 January 2005.

[11] For more information on this object, see George Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* (Dublin: Printed at the University Press for the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, 1878), II, 119–20, and *Corpus inscriptionum insularum celticarum*, ed. by R. A. S Macalister, 2 vols (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1945–49), II, 111.

[12] *Non-Classical Lexicon of Celtic Latinity 1 (A–H)*, ed. by Anthony Harvey and Jane Power, Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), s.v. 'c(h)rismal/c(h)rismale'.

which deal with this practice, it is necessary to first answer the question as to why early Irish churchmen practised this tradition, especially as this usage was unknown in the rest of contemporary Western Christendom.

In the first century both Eucharistic species were most likely consumed in the celebration itself. But in the early church there was also the practice of Home Communion which developed at a very early date. Initially, Communion was brought from the celebration to those members of the Christian community who were unable to attend because of sickness or imprisonment for their faith, and among some Christians the custom developed of keeping a portion of the Eucharist at home so that they could receive it if they were about to be captured and martyred.[13] From this there seems to have developed the custom of reserving the Eucharist at home in order to receive Communion every morning prior to eating anything else.[14] Initially the Eucharist would have been celebrated only on Sundays: daily Eucharist was not to develop for another few centuries.[15] But well before then there was a desire on the part of many Christians to receive the Eucharist on a daily basis.[16] This custom of Home Communion was not confined to ecclesiastics but was practised also by the laity. Tertullian, in exhorting a woman not to marry a pagan, asks her to consider whether this man will understand her practice of consuming the Eucharistic bread at home before she eats any other meal.[17]

It seems logical that this practice of keeping the Eucharistic bread would lead Christians to consider its protective power. St Ambrose tells of how his brother, while still a catechumen, was on a sinking ship and he asked some of the baptized who were with him to give him some of the Eucharistic bread. He bound it in a napkin and placed it around his neck whereupon, jumping into the raging waters, he was preserved.[18] However it soon became apparent that this practice was also open to abuse. The author of *De spectaculis* complains

[13] See W. H. Freestone, *The Sacrament Reserved: A Survey of the Practice of Reserving the Eucharist, with Special Reference to Communion of the Sick, during the First Twelve Centuries*, Alcuin Club Collections, 21 (London: Mowbray, 1917), p. 34.

[14] For example, Cyprian, *De lapis* 26, cited in Freestone, *The Sacrament Reserved*, pp. 37–38.

[15] Robert F. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, 2nd edn (Roma: Edizioni Orientalia Christiana, 1997), pp. 87–110.

[16] Louis de Bazelaire, 'Communion fréquente', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, ed. by Charles Baumgartner (Paris: Beauchesne, 1953), II.1, 1237–38.

[17] Tertullian, *Ad uxorem* 2.5, *PL*, I, col. 1296.

[18] Ambrose, *De excessu fratris* 1.43, *PL*, XVI, col. 304.

of Christians who go straight to pagan spectacles after the celebration of the Eucharist, and as they are carrying the Eucharist with them, they expose it to contact with all kinds of obscenity.[19] In tandem with the worry for the right care for the Eucharistic bread, the Eucharist itself came to be celebrated more frequently at a time precisely when many lay people became hesitant to receive Communion even at Sunday Eucharist.[20] Therefore it is not surprising that the practice of Home Communion was to disappear in the West. This happened by the mid-fifth century — St Augustine of Hippo is the last witness to the practice[21] — although it was to continue in the East until at least AD 700.

But as this practice of private domestic Eucharistic reservation disappeared in the church at large it seems to have continued, albeit in modified form, in Ireland. The patristic sources mention the carrying of the Eucharist primarily as a means of bringing it home in order to consume it there.[22] In these texts the use of the Eucharist as a protection outside of the context of liturgical celebration was a secondary effect. However in the Irish texts it seems that protection was the primary goal of the practice of reservation in the chrismal, and the liturgical context of the *viaticum*, while important, was secondary. In this sense the Irish experience is a local manifestation of what has been called a 'ritual independence' of the Eucharist which has been defined as 'the gradual separation, in the forms of devotion, of the bread and wine from their sacramental and liturgical context'.[23] In Ireland it seems that this practice developed into carrying the Eucharist on one's person, primarily for the sake of personal protection in the form of a talisman. While there is no mention of the practice of preserving the Eucharistic bread in a special vessel in these patristic texts, in Ireland reservation is nearly always mentioned in the context of the use of a chrismal.

[19] *De spectaculis* 5, *PL*, IV, col. 784.

[20] Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins*, p. 143.

[21] *Op. impf. contra Julianum* 3.162, *PL*, LXV, col. 1315; see Robert F. Taft, 'Home-Communion in the Late Antique East', in *Ars liturgiae: Worship, Aesthetics and Praxis. Essays in Honor of Nathan D. Mitchell*, ed. by Clare V. Johnson (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2003), pp. 1–25 (pp. 3, and 13–14).

[22] For the gradual development of Eucharistic devotion in the West outside of Ireland, see Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist outside Mass* (New York: Pueblo, 1982). For the manifestations of Eucharistic devotion in the High Middle Ages, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[23] G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 63 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), p. xi.

Many saints' Lives from Ireland make reference to the practice of the saint carrying the Eucharistic bread on the person in a chrismal. The *Vita Prima* of St Brigit, written in the mid-eighth century, tells how Brigit gives a chrismal to Bishop Brón, how he leaves it on a rock as he works on the sea shore, forgetting the rising tide, but the chrismal is miraculously saved from the rising tide.[24] There are also some references in Adomnán's late seventh-century *Life of St Columba* which perhaps refer to the use of a chrismal, although these may only be referring to bread blessed at the Eucharist, to be consumed at the following meal, and not to the Eucharist itself.[25]

The collections of saints' lives in Irish contain many examples of the saints carrying chrismals. While it is true that most of these were written in the period after the Norman arrival, they clearly hearken back to earlier practice. In general there we can discern two purposes for this practice. The first one is to be able to receive the *viaticum*. While this is part of the liturgical tradition of the universal church, it seems that it was of particular importance in Ireland.[26] These lives seem to imply that the *viaticum* was taken from the chrismal that was ordinarily on the person of the saint and that it was not necessary to fetch the sacrament from a church. When St Comgall is dying he is visited by the Abbot Fiachra who, upon realizing the situation, is able to give him the *viaticum* on the spot

[24] *Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae*, ed. and trans by Sean Connolly, *JRSAI*, 119 (1989), 5–49 (86.1–4, p. 39).

[25] When Columba comes to learn of a plague-bearing rain that is going through the East of Ireland around the river Delvin, he sends his monk Silnán there to cure the people and livestock; taking 'the bread that I have blessed in the name of God, you shall dip this bread in water and then sprinkle that water over both people and livestock, and they will soon recover health'. *Life of St Columba* 2.4 (English translation from *Adomnán of Iona, Life of St Columba*, trans. by Richard Sharpe (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 157, and 2.13, pp. 163–64). A little further on Columba sends a 'blessing' (*benedictio*) to Mogain to cure her broken hip: 'When Lugaid was ready to set out, Columba handed him a little pinewood box with a blessing inside it, and said: "When you arrive to visit Mogain, the blessing contained in this box should be dipped in a jar of water and then the water of blessing should be poured over her hip. Then call on the name of God and at once her hipbone will be joined and knit together and her full health will be restored"'. *Life of St Columba* 2.5 (*Adomnán of Iona*, trans. by Sharpe, p. 158). Here we are even less sure exactly what the saint placed in the box, but as it immediately follows the account of the blessed bread curing the plague it is at least possible that here also the *eulogia* was used. If this is the case the little pinewood box (*capsella*) carved by Columba could well be what other authors classify as a 'chrismal'.

[26] Snoek, *Medieval Piety*, p. 94.

— 'dedit statim communionem dominicam'.[27] In another instance St Molua, who thought he was about to die, was able to ask St Crónán to give him the viaticum, and St Crónán, who was with him, was also able to comply.[28]

However the main use of the chrismal seems to have been to provide divine protection. Much like a relic, or an image of the cross or a saint, it was carried on the person seemingly as a talisman.[29] We can see this use of the chrismal in another incident in the *Life of St Comgall*:

> One day, while Saint Comgall was working by himself in a field, he placed his chrismal upon his cloak. On that same day a band of Pictish bandits came to that locality, to capture everything there, be they men or sheep. When the pagans came upon Saint Comgall as he worked outside, and they saw his chrismal as it lay upon his cloak, they understood this to be the God of Saint Comgall; and these bandits were unable to touch him due to the fear of his God that filled them.[30]

In a story in the *Life of St Mochóemóg*, a young monk is murdered and St Cainnech objects to his being buried in the hallowed ground of the monastery. Mochóemóg agrees but has his chrismal (and staff) buried with the monk who is thus assured of salvation.[31] In the slightly later *Life of St Laurence O'Toole*, Archbishop of Dublin (d. 1180), we are told that bandits once attacked him while he was on a journey and desecrated the Host he carried on his person 'as *viaticum* and as safe guide on the journey, as was then the custom'.[32]

Finally, Gerald of Wales, in a report of his 1183 voyage to Ireland, mentions a chrismal in the marvellous tale of a priest giving the *viaticum* to a dying woman who had been changed into a wolf by a curse:

[27] *Vita S Comgalli* 57 in *Vitae SS*, II, 20.

[28] *Vita S Moluae* 52, in *Vitae SS*, II, 223.

[29] Archdale A. King, *Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), pp. 24–25. Nussbaum is of the opinion that in certain cases the chrismal had the function of a talisman only as the Host was held in the container together with the holy oil, which rendered both of them unusable for sacramental purposes, and therefore the chrismal had the sole function of talisman. See Otto Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1979), p. 88. Although we have found no evidence of the practice as suggested by Nussbaum in Ireland, there are a good number of examples of the viaticum being administered from the chrismal.

[30] *Vita S Comgalli* 22, in *Vitae SS*, II, 11; English translation by the present author.

[31] *Vita S Mochiemog* 18, in *Vitae SS*, II, 172–73.

[32] Snoek, *Medieval Piety*, p. 95.

> She then received from the priest all the last rites duly performed up to the last communion. This too she eagerly requested, and implored him to complete his good act by giving her the viaticum. The priest insisted that he did not have it with him, but the wolf who, in the meantime, had gone a little distance away, came back again and pointed out to him a little wallet containing a manual and some consecrated hosts, which the priest according to the custom of his country carried about with him, hanging from his neck, on his travels.[33]

From these stories we can deduce that the Eucharist was seen as something powerful. It was a great protector in the moment of death. But, as we saw above, the Eucharist was somehow 'fearful', for which reason it was carried as a *coimge conaire*, a path-protector:[34] the chrismal can grant protection precisely because it is believed to contain the awesome majesty of God.

Another interesting source for the Irish use of the chrismal are the penitentials. While parallels exist elsewhere, the most detailed treatment of the various abuses to the Eucharistic bread or *sacrificium* in the Irish penitential literature is to be found in the seventh-century *Penitential of Cummean*.[35] Cummean has concentrated all the various sins into one section, but there is little unique there and it may be taken as typical of the genre as a whole:

> He who fails to guard the host carefully, and a mouse eats it, shall do penance for forty days. But he who loses it in the church, that is so that a part falls and is not found, twenty days. But he who loses his Chrismal or only the host in what place soever, and it cannot be found, three forty-day periods or a year.
>
> [...] He who acts with negligence towards the host, so that it dries up and is consumed by worms until it comes to nothing, shall do penance for three forty-day periods on bread and water. If it is entire, but if a worm is found in it, it shall be burned and the ashes shall be concealed beneath the altar, and he who neglected it shall make good his negligence with forty days (of penance). If the host loses its taste and is discoloured, he shall keep a fast for twenty days; if it is stuck together, for seven days.
>
> He who wets the host shall forthwith drink the water that was in the Chrismal; and he shall take the host and shall amend his fault for ten days.[36]

[33] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. by John O'Meara (London: Penguin, 1982) § 52, p. 71.

[34] Freestone, *The Sacrament Reserved*, p. 56.

[35] *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. and trans. by Ludwig Bieler, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 4, 2nd edn (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975), p. 6.

[36] *Penitential of Cummean* 11.1–6, 11 and 19–29, in *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. and trans.

From this text (and its parallels) the practice of taking the *sacrificium* and keeping it outside of the context of the Eucharistic liturgy is clearly seen as normal. While it is possible that these Irish monks may have desired to receive Communion on a daily basis at a time before daily Mass was common,[37] I have not found any record of the practice of a devotional daily Communion from the chrismal in any Irish text. So this is unlikely to be the main reason for the individual keeping the *sacrificium*. The text also explicitly mentions that the *sacrificium* was kept in a chrismal. The fact that the text mentions that the *sacrificium* might be eaten up by worms, dried up, lose its colour, or stick together in the chrismal would seem to suggest that, even in the damp Irish conditions, we are dealing with a time period of somewhat more than the maximum of a week between Eucharistic liturgies. Once again this implies that the chrismal probably had the main function of a type of talisman.

While the use of the chrismal continued in Ireland at least until the Norman period, there are some parallel instances of this practice in early England.[38] However, it would seem that while the practice was to be found in both areas, Irish evidence far outweighs the English, and while it continued in Ireland into the High Middle Ages, the latest evidence I have found for the practice in England is from the eighth century. Nonetheless the English examples are in harmony with the Irish material and, indeed, complement it. An important English textual source is to be found in the eighth-century *Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York*, which contains two formulae for blessing chrismals:

> *Prefatio Chrismalis*
> Let us pray, most beloved and dearest brothers, that almighty God may deign to accomplish this ministry of the bodies of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in the bearer by the blessing of holiness, the safety of protection [...] praying for us. Through the same

by Bieler, pp. 130–33. N.B. the section missing from the quotation contains duplicate material or material not related to chrismals.

[37] It seems likely that there was not a daily communal Eucharistic liturgy in the Irish monasteries. Cf. John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism, Origins and Early Development* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1931; repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1993), pp. 345–46.

[38] The fact that there is a similarity between Irish and English practice is not surprising as the churches in Britain and Ireland were quite close at this time. Cf. Kathleen Hughes, 'Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 49–67.

> *Alia*
> Almighty God, inseparable Trinity pour into our hands the riches of your blessing so that by our blessing this small vessel may be sanctified and a new tomb of the Body of Christ may be accomplished by the grace of the Holy Spirit. Through[39]

It is clear that these prayers are not speaking of a chrismal in the normal sense: the oil of chrism is not mentioned, whereas both versions of the prayer make explicit reference to the body of Christ. It is also significant that these prayers requesting 'the blessing of holiness, the safety of protection' for the bearer of the chrismal are in keeping with the concept of the chrismal offering divine protection.

While no chrismals have been identified in Ireland, two have been found in Continental holdings. One is a 'leather chrismal overlaid with gold dating from the seventh or eighth centuries in the cathedral church of Chur in Switzerland'.[40] Little can be said as to the origins of this object although, while it is probably no more than a coincidence, a modern study of the life of St Columbanus has placed him in Chur (Switzerland) on at least two occasions.[41]

The other more famous chrismal is the eighth-century Mortain Chrismal in the form of a house-shaped reliquary made of copper alloy and gilding over a beechwood base with dimensions of 13.5 × 11.5 × 5 cm which once had rings on the sides so that it could be hung around the neck on chains.[42] The iconography, 'with figures of Christ Pantocrator, St Michael and St Gabriel on the outside, and a seraphim with outstretched wings surrounded by birds on the lid',[43] bears many similarities to the Book of Kells and the High Cross of Moone, though the work also bears some similarities to some Anglo-Saxon art. But the fact that it contains a runic inscription in Old English marks this out as

[39] *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York* AD *732–66*, ed. by William Greenwell, The Publications of the Surtees Society, 27 (London: The Surtees Society, 1854), p. 48. English translation by the present author. This manuscript is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (MS fonds latin 10575) and is possibly a tenth-century copy of an earlier manuscript brought by Alcuin to France (the manuscript also contains some fragments in Anglo-Saxon). See ibid., pp. xvii–xviii.

[40] King, *Eucharistic Reservation*, p. 39. For a photograph of this object, see Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung*, pl. 28.

[41] Donald Bullough, 'The Career of Columbanus', in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. by Michael Lapidge, Studies in Celtic History, 17 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 1–28 (pp. 20–22).

[42] Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung*, p. 88.

[43] King, *Eucharistic Reservation*, p. 39.

an Anglo-Saxon and not Irish work.[44] While the Chur chrismal is of unproven provenance and the Mortain chrismal is probably of Anglo-Saxon origin, they do provide some idea as to what an Irish chrismal may have looked like.[45]

While pre-Norman Ireland may not provide us with a separate Celtic Rite, nonetheless the study of various aspects of liturgical practice there can provide us with insights into the history of liturgy and popular devotion in the West in general. It is to be hoped that newer studies will allow Ireland to take her place as a very significant early witness in the study of the mainstream Western rites. In the particular instance of the use of chrismals, pre-Norman Irish sources show how an important variation on the theme of Eucharistic devotion existed in the early Irish Church. As a concluding suggestion, in consideration of the importance of Eucharistic chrismals in pre-Norman Ireland, I propose that some Irish artefacts which have up until now been classified as reliquaries may instead have been chrismals and that their re-examination in the light of the plentiful Irish testimony may result in the confirmation of this identification. In particular, the tiny house-shaped shrines resembling the church in the Temptation of Christ scene in the Book of Kells (fol. 202^{v}) or High Crosses which were worn around the neck and are peculiar to Ireland may possibly be chrismals and not reliquaries in the usual sense of that word.[46]

[44] 'England and the Continent', in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900*, ed. by Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse (London: British Museum Press, 1991), pp. 167–84 (pp. 175–76). It is perhaps worth noting that this is a second English example of a Eucharistic chrismal. Although both this and the text of the *Pontifical of Egbert* are important, the vast majority of evidence for the practice of Eucharistic reservation in chrismals is of Irish origin. But these English examples may suggest some common practices between the church in Ireland and England in the pre-Norman period; see Denis Bethell, 'English Monks and Irish Reform in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Historical Studies*, 8 (1971), 111–35.

[45] It is perhaps noteworthy that the Irish textual sources which deal with chrismals imply that they had a certain economic value and were therefore worth stealing. See Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung*, p. 111. It should also be noted that the chrismal may often have been bigger than the modern pyx used to bring Communion to the sick, given that in the examples of both Sts Brón and Comgall (cited above, notes 24 and 30) the chrismal had to be removed in order to allow the saint to engage in manual labour.

[46] The Book of Kells: <http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS58_003v>. See Nancy Edwards, 'Celtic Saints and Early Medieval Archaeology', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 225–65 (pp. 246–47); also Hilary Richardson, 'Visual Arts and Society', in *A New History of Ireland*, I: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 680–713 (p. 697) and Roger Stalley, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture before 1169', in *A New History of Ireland*, I, ed. by Ó Cróinín, pp. 714–43 (p. 722).

Celtic Mists: The Search for a Celtic Rite

Liam Tracey

In the conclusion to his book on 'Celtic Theology', the historian and theologian Thomas O'Loughlin makes the following observations on the remarkable contemporary interest in all things Celtic:

> Recent years have seen unparalleled interest in the medieval religion of Celtic lands. On the one hand there is a romantic religiosity that reduces the men and women of the Celtic lands in the first millennium to pretty, sentimental figures. This is a tradition of interpretation that can be traced back to the nineteenth-century writers. On the other hand, there are the proponents of differing religious interest groups who use this period as a means of defining difference, and in the process foist on the medieval writers concerns and beliefs that never entered their minds. This is a concern to claim 'Celtic Christianity' for a place or a people the lineage of which goes back to the debates of the age of James Ussher. And there is the bizarre interest of those who would strip early medieval people of their ethnic identity and Christianity by presenting them as models for modern neo-pagan rituals. In the 'pick'n'mix' cultural milieu of modern belief there seems room for a bit of everything: a bit of 'Celtic', a bit of 'Celtic nature poetry', some Celtic myths and legends, a few ghosts, and even a scattering of assorted superstitions repackaged as 'alternative wisdom'.[1]

[1] Thomas O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (London: Continuum, 2000), p. 203.

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We also find something very similar in the standard treatments of early Irish liturgy, how it was conceived, and what the actual sources for liturgy in early Ireland are. It is my contention in this chapter that much of what has been written about early Irish liturgy reflects more the concerns and preoccupations of the writer than the actual material that they are examining. Or to pose the question in another and perhaps simpler way: what were the liturgical practices in Ireland before the twelfth-century reforms? Of course, these issues cannot be treated without reference to the church that celebrated these liturgies: How was it organized? What were its preoccupations? What kind of pastoral care did it provide for its members? Allied to this confusion is a lack of clarity as to what we mean by rite, not in an anthropological sense, but how it is used by liturgists in denoting liturgical families and their origins.

We should begin with a definition of rite:

> Within Christianity, 'rite' has also acquired a more limited, technical meaning. It is used to designate the specific Christian liturgical tradition to which one belongs, e.g. the Roman (Latin) rite, the Byzantine rite, the Anglican rite, the Ethiopian rite, etc. Each 'rite' (or 'ritual family') is characterized by distinctive liturgical practices and variations, especially in the celebration of the Eucharist. (In the Byzantine family of liturgical rites, for example, the kiss of peace is exchanged before the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer; in the Roman rite, it follows the Lord's Prayer and precedes the communion.) Scholars sometimes further subdivide the Roman rite by noting distinctive forms practiced by religious orders, such as the 'Dominican rite', the liturgy of the mendicant Order of Preachers, prescribed by Humbert de Romanis in 1259.[2]

While Mitchell's definition is a useful one, it does need a further qualification. In speaking about a rite, one is in general speaking of the whole cultural complex of uses, norms, traditions of devotion, and systems of administration of a local church; in short, the spiritual patrimony of a people. In speaking of a liturgy we are concerned with a deposit of liturgical prayer, the modes of liturgical celebration found in a specific church or group of churches. Important to note

[2] Nathan Mitchell, 'Rite, Ritual', in *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. by Paul F. Bradshaw (London: SCM, 2002), pp. 407–10 (pp. 408–09). How liturgical history is often used to justify current reforms, or resistance to them, is noted by Kretschmar as follows: 'This is particularly true and relevant where liturgiology is concerned. Even contributions to historical research, especially the far-reaching theories, are in most cases intended to clear up some contemporary problem, to explain, justify or alter the Church's practice of worship, or at least to deepen the theology of worship'. See Gregor Kretschmar, 'Recent Research on Christian Initiation', *Studia Liturgicia*, 12 (1977), 87–106 (p. 87).

is that liturgy and rite are not the same thing. One is reminded of A. A. King's distinction: 'The terms "rite" and "use" have been employed interchangeably despite the obvious fact that variants of a rite are, strictly speaking, no more than "uses"'.[3]

How Different Liturgists Use the Term 'Celtic Rite'

In this section, I shall examine how a number of distinguished liturgical scholars treat early Irish liturgy. Of note is how they conceive of the early Irish Church and its practices. As the liturgical historian Herman Wegman observes in his study of liturgical history:

> What is called the 'Celtic liturgy' can be determined with even less certainty. Probably it was an old Gallican rite that was mixed with Celtic customs. Certainly Celtic and Irish piety later becomes of great significance in the West. Forms of private prayer, devotions, the use of the Bible, the cult of the saints, confession of sins, all point to this piety, without, however, giving us lines of direct access to historical facts.[4]

Usually added to this mix are terms and concepts such as 'monasticism' and a touch of 'non-Roman'. There are a number of presuppositions in Wegman's treatment of the issue: Is there such a thing as Celtic? What is the Gallican Rite? Is there such a unified reality or does it refer to a group of liturgies? Are Celtic and Irish piety the same thing, or are they different? He does at least note that the historical facts for all these issues are thin on the ground.

F. E. Warren (1842–1930)

As Henry Chadwick remarks in his introduction to a reissue of Warren's work, it is important to be mindful of the concerns that drove Warren to write this particular study: 'namely a desire to find a catholic church-life and order which were nevertheless independent of Roman control and centralising. Occasionally a polemical sentence or two in his book must be understood against the back-

[3] Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1959), p. v.

[4] Herman A. J. Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History* (New York: Pueblo 1985), p. 93. One might add here the careful comments of Oliver Davies: 'The question that runs throughout the study of early Irish liturgy is to what extent "Celtic" practice constituted a separate tradition'. See Oliver Davies, ed., *Celtic Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), p. 47.

ground of this concern'.[5] In her extensive introduction to the reissue of Warren's book, Jane Stevenson states:

> The surviving early Irish liturgical texts pertaining to the mass suggest two things; first, that the main traceable influence on Irish liturgical developments was Gallican; secondly, that Irish churchmen did not regard liturgy as 'holy writ' — fixed, immutable and not to be tampered with. They seem to have collected books from all parts of the Western world. Hymns for the hours from Arles are used as the basis for the verse collects in the Antiphonary and a variety of Spanish collects form the basis for the Irish collects on the martyrs in the same codex. The fragmentary surviving sacramentaries in Irish script are all basically Gallican in type, in their various ways; yet there is some Roman influence on the mass in the Stowe Missal. One should not get unduly carried away by this. Hennig warned that 'it is even more difficult to establish a multiplicity of liturgies in Ireland than it is to establish one "type" of ancient Irish liturgy'.[6]

One wonders what Warren would make of the recent comments of Michael Richter: 'There was never a Celtic Church as such: there were great differences in development between Wales and Ireland but greater still was the awareness among Christians in Celtic-speaking countries that they all belonged to one

[5] Owen Chadwick, 'Foreword' in Frederick E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881); 2nd edn with a new introd. and bibliography by Jane Stevenson, Studies in Celtic History, 9 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), p. vii. One would have to disagree with Chadwick on the 'occasionally' — Warren spends over seventeen pages on establishing the independence of the 'Celtic' church from Rome. Though these perceived biases have disappeared from contemporary scholarship, one might question whether the positive evaluation of contemporary scholarship by Marc Schneiders is, perhaps, too positive: 'Unlike Warren and his contemporaries, we are no longer directed in our research by a desire to see our own ecclesiastical and theological positions pre-figured in the past'. See Marc Schneiders, 'The Origins of the Early Irish Liturgy', in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Learning and Literature*, ed. by Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996), pp. 76–98 (p. 88).

There are also questionable assumptions underlying a recent article by Marion Hatchett on the Stowe Missal: 'In 1964 a mid-seventh century palimpsest sacramentary[,] recently deciphered by Dom Alban Dold, was published. It confirmed the usual assumptions that the Celtic Rite, prior to Romanisation, was closely related to the Gallican Rite as exemplified in the sacramentary known as the *Missale Gothicum* and in the exposition of the Gallican liturgy of "Germanus", and that there was substantial Spanish influence on the rite'. See Marion J. Hatchett, 'The Eucharistic Rite of the Stowe Missal', in *Time and Community. In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley*, ed. by J. Neil Alexander (Washington: Pastoral Press, 1990), pp. 153–70 (p. 153). Neither the terms 'Celtic Rite', 'Gallican Rite', nor indeed 'Romanisation' are elucidated there. This is unfortunately true also for the article by Schneiders mentioned above.

[6] Jane Stevenson, 'Introduction', in Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual*, p. lxxi.

Church'.[7] While Warren gives an authoritative answer to our original question, 'what were the liturgical practices in Ireland before the twelfth-century reforms?', many of his assumptions have been challenged. But he did make a start, and he provides the scholar entering this field with a remarkable collection of material. Since the publication of his work there have been discoveries of further Irish liturgical fragments and new models of organizing this material in a broader framework.

Edmund Bishop (1846–1917)

The doyen of English liturgical scholars, and still the reference point for many studies of the Roman Rite, Edmund Bishop looked at Irish material for his work on the origins of the Roman Canon, the influence of the Spanish Rite on that of Rome, and the Book of Cerne. His comment on Irish liturgy, as follows, has often been quoted: 'It has long since been observed that the diptychs of the Stowe Missal (an excellent example of the Irish eclectic, or tinkering, method in liturgy) draw, among other "sources", on the diptychs of the Mozarabic, or old Visigothic (Spanish) mass'.[8]

Louis Duchesne (1843–1922)

One of the most distinguished historians of the liturgy is Monsignor Louis Duchesne whose work is again emerging and gaining much favour with contemporary liturgical scholars. His most important publication, at least in the realm of liturgical history, is his history of Christian worship.[9] He makes little mention of Ireland or things Celtic, and when he does so, he treats them as part of the Gallican Rite. Duchesne saw Milan as the source for all non-Roman rites in the West. He reminds us that it was the fourth-century residence of the emperor and a highly influential centre in the West. What are not clear are its

[7] Michael Richter, *Medieval Ireland: The Enduring Tradition* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2005), p. 60.

[8] Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), p. 66.

[9] Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution. A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne*, 5th edn (London: SPCK, 1919). The influential Italian liturgist Mario Righetti also opted for a Gallican origin for what he calls a Celtic rite; see Mario Righetti, *Manuale di Storia Liturgica*, I: *Introduzione Generale*, 3rd edn (Milano: Editrice Ancora, 1964), pp. 162–64.

links with the East, but Duchesne points out that Auxentius (d. 374), the predecessor of Ambrose, was Cappadocian and had strong links with the East.[10]

A. A. King (1890–1972)

The Celtic Rite is treated by the English liturgist Archdale King in the fourth volume of his monumental study of the Western liturgical rites. In a discussion of rites that have long disappeared, he devotes ninety pages to what he calls the 'Celtic Rite'.[11] He also treats of the Gallican Rite and offers a number of important pointers in its regard as well. He identifies five different usages of the term 'Gallican' and suggests that one needs to be very clear as to how the term is employed.[12] In his treatment of the origins of the Gallican Rite, King tends to opt for Roman and Oriental sources, probably filtered through Milan, and in his treatment of the Celtic Rite he constantly stresses that there were no doctrinal differences with Rome, that it was devoted to the successor of St Peter, and that the church was monastic in organization.[13] For King the Celtic Rite (which he never defines, but does call it 'Celtic singularity') has three headings: the tonsure, the dating of Easter, and some particular practices around Baptism; 'further difference would seem to have been in that the Celts failed to

[10] This is also noted by Pierre-Marie Gy, who describes Auxentius as an Arian. See Pierre-Marie Gy, 'History of the Liturgy in the West to the Council of Trent', in *The Church at Prayer*, 1: *Principles of Liturgy*, ed. by Aimé Georges Martimort (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987), pp. 45–62 (p. 51). He goes on to remark: 'There are points showing contacts with the East (some sung texts) and with the Gallican liturgy, although these cannot be interpreted as signs that the Ambrosian liturgy originated in the East (as M. Duchesne thought) or that Milan belonged to the same liturgical family' as Gaul. Gy does not offer any evidence for his comments. Archdale King also notes something very similar, when he treats the relationship between Gallican and Ambrosian Rites: 'In 355 a Cappadocian with pronounced Arian tendencies named Auxentius had become Bishop of Milan, and during his episcopate, the links with the patriarchate of Antioch, or at any rate with the rite derived from that see, became more marked, so that, according to the theory propounded with so much plausibility by Mgr. Duchesne, it was under this influence that the Gallican liturgy, of which the Ambrosian Rite was the first fruits, took its rise'. See Archdale A. King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies* (London: Longmans, Green, 1930), p. 213.

[11] King, *Liturgies of the Past*, pp. 186–275.

[12] King, *Liturgies of the Past*, p. 75.

[13] King amusingly quotes Sir Winston Churchill's *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*: 'the form of Christianity which reached England through the mission of St Columba [...] was monastic in form, and travelled from the East through Northern Ireland to its new home without touching at any moment the Roman centre [...]. It was not in these early decisive periods associated with the universal organisation of the Papacy' (King, *Liturgies of the Past*, p. 195).

conform to the canonical regulation requiring the assistance of three bishops at an episcopal consecration'.[14] In reaching conclusions King follows the work of Cabrol:

> It would seem, says Dom Cabrol, that there never has been a Celtic liturgy in the ordinary sense of the word. The Celts were great travellers and ardent lovers of the liturgy: indefatigable in collecting every book on the subject, copying, retouching and sometimes adding a formula here and a rite there. It is only in the domain of private prayer, outside the scope of the official liturgy, that Celtic liturgy appears.[15]

Regarding the origins of the liturgy used in Ireland, King opts for the Gallican Rite, but with a number of important qualifications, and insisting on the diversity that existed among churches at the time: 'The Gallican rite was undoubtedly the nucleus of the early Celtic liturgy, although in an earlier form than we find in pseudo-Germanus, which represents a later usage probably augmented and embellished by the Church of Arles'.[16] But this view of King's was rejected by another English liturgist working at the same time, the Anglican liturgist Dom Gregory Dix, for whom the origin of the Irish Rite is to be found in Rome:

> This earliest known Irish rite [he is speaking of the Stowe Missal] is recognisably the Roman rite both in structure and contents. It is, of course, 'Roman' in the usual Irish way, both old-fashioned and curiously embellished, for Ireland was a long way off and Irish scribes were inveterate and often wayward 'improvers' of the texts they copied, whose taste in things liturgical was always for the unusual. But apart from such 'tinkerings' (as Edmund Bishop was wont to call the Irish way with liturgical documents) the Irish rite is Roman not only in substance but in eighty per cent of its details.[17]

Little attention has been paid to this opinion of Dix's: most liturgists, then as now, opt for Gallican origins. But the use of the term 'Gallican Rite' seems to be a catch-all phrase that is essentially used to mean several of the non-Roman Western rites.

[14] King, *Liturgies of the Past*, p. 203.

[15] King, *Liturgies of the Past*, p. 229.

[16] King, *Liturgies of the Past*, pp. 230–31.

[17] Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945), p. 468. As Gy reminds us about the Gallican Rite: 'We know little about the liturgy of Gaul prior to its replacement by the Roman liturgy in the second half of the eighth century. This liturgy was less fully developed than that of Rome or Spain, and the few documents that have survived are already replete with Roman contributions' (Gy, 'History of the Liturgy', p. 52).

Cyrille Vogel (1919–82)

Cyrille Vogel, the author of a standard guide to medieval liturgy, set his aim not just at liturgists but at the wider audience of medieval historians. He has some interesting, if limited, information on what he calls

> *The Celtic Liturgy*. This is the ancient liturgy of the British Isles, Galicia, and Brittany before these churches gradually adopted the calendar and liturgy of Rome: Galicia accepted Roman dating at the Council of Toledo in 633; S. Ireland adhered to the Roman order in 636; Northumbria in 664 at the Synod of Whitby; N. Ireland in 696 at the Synod of Birr; N. Wales *c*. 750 and S. Wales some time later; Devon and Cornwall preferred their own ways until the X century; Brittany was ordered to conform to Roman usages by Louis the Pious in 818; Scotland held out until the X century and it was only in the time of the saintly Margaret of Scotland that it fully conformed to the Roman liturgy late in the XI century.[18]

Jordi Pinell (1921–97)

The Catalan Benedictine Jordi Pinell introduced generations of students to the study of non-Roman Western liturgies as both a teacher and a doctoral supervisor in his many years of teaching and research at the Pontifical Liturgical Institute, San Anselmo in Rome. Pinell, a scholar of the Old Spanish Rite, was largely responsible for the reform of Hispanic liturgical books following Vatican II.

In his survey of liturgical families,[19] he treats of 'Celtic Liturgy' and denies that it is a rite. For Pinell, a rite is the liturgy of a specific local church which has created a repertory of its own liturgical texts and forms, or at least has substantially re-elaborated those of another local church. The surviving evidence from Ireland for the celebration of the Eucharist and the monastic Office, Pinell notes, does not reflect sufficient originality or a reworking of these sources that would qualify it as a rite. For this reason, he concludes, it is often not considered in surveys of the various Latin liturgies.

For Pinell the fact that the young Irish Church (unlike the Italian, Gallican, and Spanish Churches) was not profoundly rooted in a Latin Christian culture meant that its contribution to the Latin churches was not as much as it could have been. This explains how the surviving liturgical texts from Ireland are,

[18] Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Portland, OR: The Pastoral Press, 1986), p. 280.

[19] Jordi Pinell, 'Le liturgie occidentali', in *Anàmnesis*, II: *La Liturgia, panorama storico generale* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983), pp. 62–88 (pp. 67–70).

in his opinion, 'few and mediocre'. Regarding the sources of the Irish liturgy, Pinell looks to the Gallican for the Stowe Missal, but to Ambrosian sources for the Antiphonary of Bangor. He also sees Roman and Spanish elements added to original Irish texts. For him, the real question concerning the Irish liturgy is not whether it was a unified one, but rather, whether it varied from local community to community.[20]

Pinell's work is of even greater interest to us for his work on the Hispanic Rite and, by extension, his examination of its sources and relationship with the Gallican Rite. He noted that the term 'Gallican' is often used in an imprecise and confused way.

For him, it refers exclusively to a local liturgy that was formed in the south of Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century and which lasted until the imposition of the Roman Rite by Charlemagne on the Frankish Empire. The Gallican Rite is distinctive from the Romano-Frankish liturgy precisely because of the latter's exclusively Latin cultural matrix. Pinell believes that the Gallican Rite and the Hispanic Rite are both products of the same cultural forces, resulting from a desire to reproduce in these two churches something similar to the liturgy of the Roman Church of the fifth century. They built on a patrimony of liturgical traditions from the East, Italy, and, above all, Latin North Africa.[21]

Michael Curran

One of Pinell's students, the Irish liturgist Michael Curran, published his doctoral dissertation on the Antiphonary of Bangor in 1984, drawing a number of interesting conclusions:

> The office celebrated at Bangor was a monastic office, and this monastic character is revealed above all through the Columbanian cursus. Much of the material con-

[20] In the revised edition of *Anàmnesis*, Gabriel Ramis, a student of Pinell, devotes nine lines to Celtic liturgy, as follows: 'The Celtic liturgy developed in Ireland, and it is represented through the sources that have survived until our time. There are few existing sources and those we have are very old, dating back to the seventh century. We cannot call this a liturgy in a strict sense, as we have referred to the other western liturgies. The Celtic liturgy never reached a full development. It is fundamentally a Roman liturgy with influences of the Gallican, Ambrosian, and Hispanic liturgies. The sources of this liturgy give us an outline of *ordo missae* and of the monastic Office'. See Gabriel Ramis, 'Liturgical Families in the West', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, I: *Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. by Anscar Chupungco (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), pp. 25–32 (p. 30). As I understand Ramis, he is opting for a fundamentally Roman origin for what he calls a 'Celtic' liturgy.

[21] Pinell, 'Le liturgie occidentali', p. 63.

> tained in the Antiphonary, on the other hand, shows the influence of the cathedral tradition on the Irish monastic tradition. The hymns and collects which we find here show how the Irish Church was being enriched, during the sixth and seventh centuries, both by Irish compositions which drew inspiration from the Western ecclesial tradition and by prayers borrowed directly from the cathedral Churches of the Continent.[22]

Curran shows in his study the strong similarities between the morning Office of Bangor, which he calls a cathedral one, and the morning Office of Milan. He also shows how the *cursus* of the Office, long thought to derive from the monastery of Lérins, is actually from the monastery of Tours, and convincingly argues for northern Italy as an important influence on the antiphonary.

David N. Power (1932–2014)

The Irish liturgist David Power also studied at San Anselmo and spent most of his teaching career at the Catholic University of America. He wrote on Celtic liturgy as follows:

> In studying the liturgical life of the Celtic church in Ireland up to the end of the millennium, there are two problems that make the task difficult. First, the evidence is sparse and available texts few or incompletely transcribed. Second, there is little clarity about the forms of church organisation, so it is not simple to locate the books in a living situation, or even to know to what extent monasteries in a full sense of the term, or clerical communities of pastoral responsibility, or isolated clerics, had charge of the pastoral care of the laity, for whom according to both civil and ecclesiastical statutes the universal right existed to baptism, mass, care of the sick, and care of the dead.
>
> While there is no evidence of a distinctive Celtic Rite, as there was a Milanese, or a Gallican or a Mozarabic, it would be wrong to assume that the mass was always and everywhere celebrated according to the Roman Rite from the days of St. Patrick. Both Roman and Gallican, and a mixture of the two in one rite, were known.[23]

For Power the interweaving of liturgical practices with already existing cultural traditions is a useful model for possible integrations of today:

[22] Michael Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984), p. 192.

[23] David N. Power, 'Affirmed from Under: Celtic Liturgy and Spirituality', *Studia Liturgica*, 27 (1997), 1–32 (p. 7).

> Again none of this is evidence of a particular rite, but it shows peculiarities that a people could adjoin to an accepted liturgy in virtue of keeping some of their own traditions and highlighting some of their own piety. With talk of liturgical inculturation now common, some find in what is known of such liturgical variations a good example of creative cultural assimilation of accepted liturgies that came with the first missions and evangelizers. Others of course are less complimentary and tie variations or innovations to faults in the Irish character and its undisciplined imagination, as well as to the lack of superstructures in ecclesiastical organization that could hold churches to a unified regulation. Between the two points of view, there may lie a true appreciation of a Celtic heritage.[24]

Hugh P. Kennedy

An important contribution to the re-examination of the sources of early Irish liturgy is the unpublished 1994 doctoral dissertation of Hugh P. Kennedy. While its focus is the Stowe Missal, Kennedy raises a series of important questions regarding the sources of early Irish liturgical practices and how they were reworked by Irish scribes: 'Accordingly, the conviction of several liturgical scholars that the text of the Stowe Missal demonstrates a habitual tendency on the part of the Irish to corrupt or embellish liturgical material, is, I submit, no longer justifiable'.[25] Kennedy offers the suggestion that the scribes retained texts or juxtaposed Roman texts with earlier texts because of their conservatism.

Thomas O'Loughlin's warning regarding medieval liturgical books is worth recalling:

> Stowe's basic text is that of the Roman Rite; for example, it has labelled the Eucharistic Prayer 'the Canon of Pope Gelasius', and it shows several post-seventh-century Roman developments such as a *Gloria*. It also shows some similarities with the rite in use in Milan, such as the text for the breaking of the bread [...]. Equally there is evidence of contact with Spain (the inclusion of the Nicene Creed) and other Irish liturgical books such as prayers during the administration of communion [...], and one or two details that are not found elsewhere. While tracing these influences can make an interesting detective tale, attempts to show how these influences came together are doomed: one could only know this if we had hundreds of surviving missals which could show the points where various elements fused. Suffice to say that we have only a handful of surviving books and they all show

[24] Power, 'Affirmed from Under', pp. 7–8.

[25] Hugh Kennedy, 'Tinkering Embellishment or Liturgical Fidelity? An Investigation into Liturgical Practice in Ireland before the Twelfth-Century Reform Movement as Illustrated by the Stowe Missal' (unpublished doctoral thesis, St Patrick's College Maynooth, 1994), p. 388.

> some similarities and some differences with one another — and any time users of these books found something in another missal which was considered useful, e.g. a prayer, it was simply copied into their own missal.[26]

Kennedy's examination of the missal centres on the Canon of the Mass, the *Depractio Sancti Martini*, and the *Ordo Babtismi* in the text. Following this, he looks at the sources of these liturgical texts, the purpose of the Stowe Missal, and the liturgical reforms of St Malachy. While he admits that the sources are still unclear, he rejects the common affirmation of liturgists that these are Gallican, finding that term ambiguous, asking, does 'Gallican' mean Gaul before the liturgical reforms of Charlemagne, or does it refer to all non-Roman Western rites? He offers two conclusions:

> I. The suggestion that the Irish liturgy was no more than an extension of the 'Franco-Gallican' rite can no longer be held with conviction;
>
> II. secondly there is recurring evidence of direct influence between Northern Italy and Ireland. It is significant that the most recent study of the Ambrosian liturgy attributes to Irish monks the spreading of the Ambrosian liturgical texts north of the Alps.[27]

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been a modest one of looking once more at how the naming of the liturgy of early Ireland came about in liturgical histories. We have tried to suggest that these views of history may have more to do with confessional divides in the nineteenth century than with the evidence itself from a bygone age. What Próinséas Ní Chatháin wrote in 1980 still seems to be very applicable today:

> At all events we can dispense with the term Celtic Rite which has been in use for over a hundred years. It is a misnomer in the first place because Celtic linguistic unity was already a thing of the past when Christ was born. In view of the close links between Christian Britain and Ireland in early times it might have been of some use to coin a phrase such as 'insular Christianity' or the like but because as far as we know no insular British liturgical book has survived it is less misleading and more accurate to dispense with the word Celtic altogether in regard to the liturgy of this area.[28]

[26] O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology*, p. 131.

[27] Kennedy, 'Tinkering Embellishment', p. 388.

[28] Próinséas Ní Chatháin, 'The Derrynaflan Altar Service', *JRSAI*, 100 (1980), 127–48 (p. 128). The caution that Ní Chatháin suggests regarding the liturgy needs to be applied to all things

To her wise observations I would add some other qualifications, that is, that the word 'Gallican' needs to be used in a much more precise way, indicating when and where in Gaul we are discussing;[29] and the nature of the literary or other evidence relied upon needs to be clarified. With regard to the romanization of the 'Gallican' liturgy, we need to be aware of the recent work of Yitzhak Hen,[30] and of others who show how much more complex this process actually was on the Frankish world. Here the work of liturgists and musicologists together will be of prime importance.

In suggesting that we look again at Ambrosian sources for possible relationships with early Irish liturgy, I am hoping that we avoid some of the earlier traps into which some liturgists fell. One has to be very clear with what is meant by 'Ambrosian' and that it be clearly distinguished both in terms of date and geographical location, that is, whether one is referring to Milan and its cathedral or to some centre in northern Italy influenced by Milan. Greater engagement is also desirable with Italian colleagues who have revised greatly the standard accounts of the formation of the Ambrosian liturgy and its traditions.[31]

early Irish as the studies of Richard Sharpe, Catherine Swift, and Colman Etchingham have ably demonstrated. As Etchingham has observed regarding the prevailing paradigm of viewing monasticism in early Ireland: 'Investigation of ruling authority and jurisdiction suggests that the early Irish Church in key respects may be rather closer to Western European norms that the traditional image of a predominant "Celtic monasticism" allowed. It is not without its distinctive features, perhaps particularly in relation to how the administration for temporalities was conceptualised. It was ostensibly organised, however, not primarily to turn its back on society in ascetic seclusion, but to interact with society as pastor, legislator, judge and tribute-raising lord'. See Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth: Laigin Publications, 1999), p. 460. A recent account may be found in Neil Xavier O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), pp. 199–202.

[29] A helpful start is Matthieu Smyth, *La liturgie oubliée: La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l'occident non-romain* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2003). This study is the most complete modern treatment of the Eucharistic prayer in the Gallican Rite.

[30] Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 3 (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2001).

[31] Debates still continue regarding the origins of the Ambrosian liturgy, some opting for an Eastern origin, others looking to Rome. Agreement today seems to acknowledge that both are right in that there are elements from the East as well as from Rome present together in the Ambrosian liturgy. Triacca is very clear, however, that the Ambrosian liturgy has nothing in common with the Gallican liturgy, nor is it part of a Gallican family. He also underlines the influence of the struggle with Arianism as a constant cultural context for the development of the Ambrosian liturgy. See A. M. Triacca, 'La Liturgia ambrosiana', in *Anàmnesis*, II, 88–93.

However, a great deal of this is posited on how we see the development of liturgy itself, especially in the centuries of Late Antiquity. More attention must be paid to the work of liturgists in this area who are evermore stressing the plurality of the Christian experience and the communities trying to live and celebrate the message of Jesus. The formation of liturgical families in the fourth and fifth centuries now seems to have been a more complex and longer process than was thought by earlier generations of liturgical scholars.[32]

[32] The comments of Thomas O'Loughlin are useful: 'The acid test is this: did the Christians in the Celtic lands have a markedly different liturgy or system of law? Here the most brief sampling of the evidence shows that the Irish material is no more distinctive than materials from any other part of the Latin world of the time. For example the Stowe Missal contains the Roman Rite and its local additions would not amount to judging it a distinct rite' (O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology*, p. 17). Of particular use in this endeavour is the work of Paul Bradshaw whose ten principles for interpreting early Christian liturgical evidence are of great importance and value for early Irish material. They were first formulated in Paul F. Bradshaw, 'Ten Principles for Interpreting Early Christian Liturgical Evidence', in *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship*, ed. by Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991) pp. 3–21; and then reformulated and amplified in Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 1–20.

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